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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
King CHARLES I.

CONTAINING

A more Particular and Impartial Account
of the Rebellion and Civil Wars than has
yet been published; Collected from Private
Memoirs and Authentick Papers, and Com-
par'd with *Clarendon, Rushworth, &c.*

Written in *French* by Monsieur *De Larrey*,
Counsellor of the Court and Embassies, and
Historiographer to the King of *Prussia*.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *A. Bell* at the *Cross-Keys and Bible* in *Cornhill*;
T. Varnam and *J. Osborn* at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Lombardstreet*;
W. Taylor at the *Ship*, and *J. Baker* and
T. Warner at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1716.

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Х И С Т О Р Й
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576. King Charles I.



A more full and complete Account
of the Reign of King Charles I; Containing
the most particular叙述 of the most
curious and interesting Events and Circum-
stances that have happened since his Accession
to the Throne in 1625. The last
Volume will contain the History of the Civil War
and the Revolution, and the Restoration of the
King.

Vol. II

London: Printed for the Author, by J. D. and C. D. 1700.



LIFE and REIGN

OF

KING of

Great-Britain, &c.

VOL. II.

THE Synod of Edinborough began their Session on the 11th of August, in the Presence of the Earl of Tracquair, who presided therein as his Majesties High-Commissioner; every thing was carry'd there to the Covenanters Satisfaction, and the Decrees of the Synod of Glasgow were confirm'd.

B They

Anno
1639.
The Synod
of Edin-
borough,

Annō 1639. They did more, the Covenant was renew'd and sign'd again, not only by the whole Assembly, but even by the *High-Commissioner* himself : *The Covenant reviv'd.* Who would not now have thought, that all Differences were Ended ? The new Liturgy suppress'd ; the *High-Commission* revok'd ; the Five Articles of the Synod of *Perth* abrogated ; and lastly, Episcopacy abolish'd : For this was the End of the Covenant, the Great Affair of the Confederates, and the Center of their Wishes, as well as the Source of their Actions.

The new Liturgy suppress'd. But this was not the Intention of the Court, the King and his Arch-Bishop *Laud*, still persisted in their first Sentiments, and only endeavour'd to prolong the time, so that at last they might lead the Confederates to submit to all those Articles, which at present were only suspended, till a more favourable opportunity presented it self, to bring them again upon the Stage, and to make them Triumphant over all the Contradictions of Presbytery. This was what my Lord *Strafford* advis'd the King to, by his Letter of the 3d of *July* ; to keep good Garrisons in *Berwick* and *Carlisle* ; to build the Fortifications of *Leith*, until he should be in a Condition to act Vigorously against the *Scots*, whose ill Intentions were not unknown to his Majesty.

The Five Articles, and the High-Commissioner. My Lord *Strafford* knew very well the King's Sentiments on that Head, and we learn what those Sentiments were, by the King's own Letters to the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and to the *High-Commissioner*. By his Letter of the Sixth of *August*, he lets the Prelate know, That it was against his Inclinations, that he suffer'd the Synod of *Edinborough* to Sit. That it was pure Necessity that oblig'd him to give way to the Times, in hopes that they would change, and become more favourable :

My Lord Strafford in the King's Measures. He Exhorts him to

Letter from the King, to the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.

Anno
1639.

A Letter
to the
Earl of
Track-
quair.

to have Patience, and advises him to keep at a distance from an Assembly, that were so ill dispos'd to Episcopacy ; and for the present, that he and the other Prelates should content themselves with entering a Protest and deliver it to the Earl of *Tracquair*, to which Protest, he promised to have a due regard in proper time and place. His Letter to the Earl was in more strong and precise Terms, than that to the Archbishop. It was written in Answer to a Letter from the Earl, of the 16th of *August*, by which he Inform'd the King, that the Synod were resolv'd intirely to abolish the new Liturgy and its Canons, as a Superstitious Service, full of Popery : To suppress the High-Commission Court as Tyrannical ; and lastly Episcopacy, as being contrary to the Reformation of *Scotland*, and to her Church-Government. This indeed might be naturally infer'd from the Confession of Faith, in the Year 1580, which the Covenant had reviv'd, and the King himself Sign'd, and Authorised by his Declaration, sent to the Synod of *Glasgow*. But the Terms of his Letter to the Earl of *Tracquair*, Evaded that Consequence. *Don't let my Subjects of Scotland believe, (said he) that because I have discharg'd them from the new Liturgy, the High-Commission Court, and the Five Articles of the Synod of Perth ; that therefore, I have condemn'd those three Establishments, either as Superstitious or Tyrannical, and unlawful or contrary to the Confession of Faith, in 1580.* No, I only dispens'd with them out of pure Condescension, and having a regard for their Weakness : But if you observe, added he, that the Assembly press to have them Abrogated, as Abuses contrary to the Establish'd Faith and Government : Protest against it, and Prorogue the Parliament, to prevent the Ratification of

Anno
1639.

Decrees
of the
Synod a-
gainst the
new Li-
turgy and
Episcop-
acy.

The Earl
of Trac-
quair
Signs the
Covenant.

His pre-
caution in
Signing.

such Decrees which are inconsistent with my Bounty for them, and their Submission to Me.

Nevertheless, those very Decrees which the King fear'd, were pass'd by the Synod; And tho' the Earl of Tracquair Prorogued the Parliament from the 20th of August, to the 14th of November; yet that did not prevent the Synod of Edinburgh from Confirming all the Acts of the Synod of Glasgow, Condemning the new Liturgy, the High-Commission Court, the Five Articles of Perth, and Episcopal Government, and the renewing of the Covenant. Something more Extraordinary pass'd therein, the Earl of Tracquair the High-Commissioner Sign'd it himself, with all the Lords of the Council, Pursuant to a Petition of the Members of the Synod,

who beg'd that the President of the Assembly, who represented there the King's Person, and all his Privy Council, might Subscribe to this Important Act of Union; The Confederates alledged, that the Happiness of the Kingdom, as well as the Security of Religion, was Interested in this Affair, and that nothing could Cement a Correspondence between the King and his Subjects, better than a Confession of the Faith. But the High-Commissioner, and the Lords of the Council did not, however, Subscribe the Covenant till after the Synod had declared, that they did not pretend to Infringe the lawful Rights of the King; but that the Covenanters would be always ready to Sacrifice their Lives and Estates, as well in the defence of them, as of the true Religion. For which Reason, their Fidelity to God was United in their Covenant, to that which was due to the King. After this Declaration, the Earl of Tracquair was willing to Sign as a private Person; but in Quality of High-Commissioner, he desired that his Pro-
test

(5)

tell should be enter'd in the Register; that the Confederates should hold to the Acts of Union of 1583 and 1581, to which the new Covenant should be relative: But this Protest did not save the new Liturgy, the Five Articles of the Synod of Perth, nor lastly Episcopacy: For the Synod declar'd loudly, that these three Establishments were unlawful and contrary to the Laws and Government of the Church of Scotland. Thus whilst the High Commissioner gave his Consent to the Acts of the Synod, it is not to be comprehended what use he could make of his Protest, which was rather a Contradiction, than an Explanation of his Signing. We shall see by and by, that the Court was not satisfied, and could scarce pardon him this Condescension, which was look'd on as a great Weakness, if not Treachery; but of that, King Charles's Historian Excuses that Lord.

Anno
1539.

In the same Assembly there pass'd a Declaration of the Five Bishops, which put the Episcopal Party into great Consternation, and was a Cause of Triumph to their Enemies. The Bishops of Donkel and the Orkneys, abjur'd Episcopacy, as being not founded on the Word of God, but was attended with terrible and pernicious Consequences in several Parts of Christendom, and particularly in the Church of Scotland, that for these Reasons it had been condemn'd by her Synods, and by the General Assemblies of the Nation in 1580, and 1581. The Synod concluded their Session on the 30th of August, by giving their most humble thanks to the King, who had not only suffer'd them to sit, but had Authoris'd their Acts by the consent which were given unto them by his High Commissioner; He appointed another to meet at

Two Bishops abjure Episcopacy.
^{* Lord Clarendon.}

Anno
1639. Aberdeen on the 20th of July, the Year fol-
lowing.

*The Pro-
rogation
of the
Scotch
Parlia-
ment.*

The Parliament continued still Prorog'd, and what had been done in November, only serv'd to Sower the Minds of the People, and lead them to those terrible Civil Wars, which afterwards set the two Kingdoms in a Flame. Notwithstanding the Prorogation, the Members met on the 20th of August, which was the Day that the Parliament was to have met, but it was further Prorogued. They protested against this Proceeding, and sent a Deputation to the King to complain of it, as being Irregular and Injurious to the States of the Kingdom; but their Deputies were but ill receiv'd,

* It ought to be written so, but by mistake it has hitherto been printed
Tranquair had orders to Pro-
rogue the Parliament further, to the 2d of June
1640, which he did; but this gave occasion to
a new Deputation from the Covenanters, whose
Arrival was preceded by that of the Earl of
Traquair, who was sent for to England, to
give the Court an account of his Commission.

The Court was dissatisfied at his Signing the Covenant, and Authorising the Acts of the Synod of Edinburgh, which entirely overturn'd the new Liturgy, and all the Hierarchy, which the King and Arch-Bishop Laud design'd to Establish. It is hard to reconcile this dissatisfaction of the Court, with the Powers which were sent to this High Commissioner to Sign the Covenant of 1580, which was very near Conformable to that of the Covenanters. It is true, that the King Explain'd himself, and pretended to be only engag'd in Points of Faith, and not in Points of Discipline, which was in his Power to Change. Besides, he had only ordered his High Commissioner to dispense with the new Liturgy and Episcopal Government, and

and not to condemn them both ; but the Earl Anno of *Tracquair* could not withstand the Torrent, 1639. and either his Weakness, or his Policy, prevail'd over his Master's Orders : He represented to the King and Council, before whom he was Examined, that he saw so much Zeal and Fury in the Covenanters for the defence of their Covenant, that he had no other way left to prevent an open Rebellion, than to subscribe it, and all the Acts of their Synod. He added, that his Protest evaded his Signing, and that there was still a way left to annull all the King's Promises and Engagements, the Covenanters having render'd themselves unworthy of them, by their Treason, and their League with a Foreign Power against their Country, and their lawful Sovereign. And at the same time acquainted the King of a Letter, which their Chiefs had written to the King of *France*, of which we shall speak in its Place. The Hatred of the Covenanters was so great against the Earl of *Tracquair* on this account, that they call'd him nothing but *Traytor* and *Incendiary*, ^{He Incurs the Hatred of the Covenanters.} tho' an Author, his Cotemporary, gives him ^{My Lord Clarendon.}

They did not know that their Letter had been intercept'd, and thought of nothing but being reveng'd for the Prorogation of the Parliament, which they look'd on as an Infringe- ^{The Complaints of the Scotch Deputies to the King.} ment on the Nation's Priviledges ; So that the Earl was scarce got into *England*, when he was follow'd by the Earls of *Damferlin* and *Louden*, and by *Douglas* and *Barkly*, four Deputies of *Scotland*, who came to complain of the Injuries committed against the Nation, since the Pacification of the 18th of June. The Prorogation or Dissolution of the Parliament, was at the Head of their Grievances ; they complain'd

Anno 1640. of it as an unprecedeted Action for many Ages, and as a manifest Violation of their Liberties and Laws : The which Ordain'd, That the Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliaments, should be made by the consent of the Parliament it self, and by the Votes of the Members. In the second place they demanded the Evacuation of the Castles of *Edinborough* and *Dumbarton*; for that they could not bear the English Garrisons which the King had put in there. They made likewise a third Demand, and that was, That the Oath which they oblig'd the Scots in *England* and *Ireland* to take, contrary to the Covenant, should be revok'd.

As these Deputies had Orders to Address themselves immediately to the King, they refused to appear before his Commissioners, that they might not prejudice the Sovereignty of *Scotland*; and this Incident at first gave some trouble: But the King who was not willing to prejudice this independency of a Kingdom, which belong'd to him before that of *England*, satisfy'd the Deputies in that Point, and order'd them to *Hamp-ton-Court*, where he came himself. He was not so favourable to them in the Main, as in the Form; and either on the pretence, or the Ground of the Letter intercepted by the Earl of *Travquair*, or for other Reasons, they were made Prisoners in the begining of March 1640.

The King gives them Audience at *Hamp-ton-Court*. They are Imprison'd. My Lord Wentworth returns from *Ireland*. * Lord Clarendon.

During these Transactions, my Lord Wentworth, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, after having held a Parliament there, and rais'd two Millions of Livers, came into *England*, in order to be present in the Parliament, which the King had call'd to meet in the Month of April. It was likewise in this Conjunction, that the Lord Keeper *Coventry* dy'd. This Person is very much commended by a Celebrated English Historian,

Florian, for his Knowledge, Dexterity, and Affection to the King ; Virtues which rarely agree with the simplicity of retirement, which he affected. Finch succeeded him, who tho' he had the same Zeal for King Charles's Service, yet he had not the same Prudence, nor Knowledge of Affairs ; and not having the Skill of managing the Parliament as his Predecessor, he did not prevent its fatal division with the King : But before we look into the Sessions and Movements of the two Nations, which now united for the Maintenance of their Religion and Liberties, against the Arbitrary Government of the State and the Clergy, as the Covenanters express'd it ; Let us look into the Sequel of Foreign Affairs from the Year 1630, where we left off.

I shall say nothing of *Scotland*, because of the present Inseparable Connection of the Affairs of that Kingdom with *England*, has obliged me to unite them in the Narration, as they were themselves by their Events, and by the common Interest of their Religion and Liberty of the two Nations.

All that I have further to relate of *Scotland*, is Dr. Leighton's Case, a Scotch Gentleman, that had written against Episcopacy and the Government ; he laid the Oppression of the two Nations to the Charge of the Bishops, whom he Stil'd *Men of Blood* : Afterwards he reproach'd them with their Superstitious Liturgy, that smelt of Popery throughout the whole, and particularly in the manner of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the Knees ; he Stil'd their Hierarchy *Anti-christian* ; he said that they had Corrupted the King's good Nature ; and he brought the Queen under the same Censure, for whom he shew'd as little respect,

Anno.

1640.

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Anno 1640. spect, as for the Bishops. He brought the Loss of *Rochel* upon the Stage again, and Imputed it to *Buckingham*, and made a Panegyrick on the Murderer of that Favourite. This without doubt was an out-ragious Zeal, as the English Historian ⁴ Expresses it, who otherwise speaks advantageously enough of that Doctor, and finds as much Excess in his Punishment, as in his Zeal, being put twice into the Pillory, and each time had an Ear and the half of his Nose cut off. This Punishment is really frightful, and the repeating of it must be look'd on as a Piece of Barbarity.

*From
1630, and
so on to
1640.
Commo-
tions of
the Pa-
pists in
Ireland.*

I have not much to say of *Ireland* neither; that Kingdom being tributary to *England*, from whence she receiv'd her Orders and Lieutenants, and as well as *Scotland*, was Interested in the Intrigues I have been speaking of, which almost equally busied the three Kingdoms.

Notwithstanding the Proclamation Issued by my Lord *Falkland*, Lord Deputy, in April 1629, to repress the Licence of Papists, it rather Encreas'd than Diminish'd, and they were from that time on the Point of making themselves Masters of the Church and Government. This we are inform'd of by a Letter of the first of April 1630, written by the Bishop of *Kilmore* to ⁴ *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*, to complain of their Usurpations; All, said he, is in their Power, the Protestants scarce make up a Tenth part of the Communicants, and the Romish Clergy are not satisfied with Seizing on our Churches, where they cause Mass to be said: But they even Exercise an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by their Vicar General, and by his Officers, with so much Insolence, that they Excommunicate those that acknowledge our Spiritual Courts. The Monks, who are spread every where in Lay Habits, compleatly ruine all, and af-

⁴ He was
not made
Arch-
Bishop of
Canter-
bury till
1633.

ter Impoverishing the Kingdom by their begging, they Excite to Rebellion by their Discourses and Preaching.

Anno
1640.

Orders If-
ficed to
suppreſt
them.

To remedy these Discords, the Deputy forbade all Assemblies of Papists, under severe Penalties. Ordered that all Houses made use of for that end shou'd be shut up, and proscribed the Jesuits, Monks and other Ecclesiasticks, that said Mass, and kept Schools, or that fomented Idolatry and Rebellion; at the same time there was likewise an Order from the Council of England, directed to the Council of Ireland, and to all the Chief Justices, conceiv'd pretty near in the same Terms, with the Deputy's Proclamation; Directing, That in Order to Root out Popery and her Enniskillings, there should be an Exact search made into Convents, and the Revenues of Friars and Nuns, to Banish their Persons, and Seize on their Funds, to the end they may be Converted to a better Use, and to more wholesome Institutions. The King sent likewise a Proclamation to confirm all the Proprietors in the possession of their Funds; and this was done, either to oblige them to Fine, or else he had only a design for to make their Condition more secure, and more happy.

I have said already, That in the year 1633, *The Government* my Lord Wentworth, since Earl of Strafford, was sent into Ireland with the Title of Lord Deputy, which was afterwards chang'd into that of Lord Lieutenant. The same Year he wrote a Letter to the King, to Inform him of the true Condition of the Country; of what he thought the most proper means to preserve the Peace there, and to make the Country more Rich than it had hitherto been. These Means consisted in keeping an equal Ballance between the Roman-Catholicks and the Protestants: But the former, who

Anno who were already but too powerful, abused the
 1630, to Favour, as we shall see in its place. And the
 1640. Event shew'd, That the Governour could not
 have given more pernicious Counsel. As for the
 rest, He Manag'd the Treasury with a great deal
 of Dexterity; for in the year 1639, he Drew
 more than Two Millions of Livers from thence,
 and brought the Money to the King, as I have
 said before; tho' in his Letter in 1633, when he
 first came into that Government, all that he
 could possibly draw from thence yearly, amount-
 ed to no more than Twenty Thousand Pounds
 Sterling. He was Accused of Misdemeanors
 committed by him as President of the North,
 in the Year 1632, by Sir ————— Foulis; but
 he was Justified, and the Accuser Fined Five
 Thousand Pounds.

^{See Rush.} In the Year 1634, appear'd the Confession
 worth. of Faith of the Irish Protestants, which was
 Conformable to that of the Church of England,
 as it was in Queen Elizabeth's time.

The Governor Employ'd the following Years
^{He Raises} in making Secret Levies of Men and Money, as
^{Men and} I have said already, to assist the King in his Ex-
^{Money in}pedition against Scotland; and on the 10th of
 February 1638, he wrote to him, That he wou'd
 not fail to Disembark Five Hundred Men at
 Carlisle in the beginning of April. This as may
 be seen by his Letter, was only in part, and until
 he could send him greater Succours, which he
 promis'd to furnish his Majesty with; encou-
 raging him to reduce the Scotch Rebels, and

^{The Oath} giving very good Advice how to compass it.
 which he In the Year 1639, He oblig'd all the Scots
^{caus'd to} that had Habitations or Estates in Ireland, to
^{be taken} take an Oath quite Contrary to that of the Co-
^{quite Con-}trary to venant; by the Covenant, the Scots were En-
^{the Cove-}gag'd in a mutual League, for the Defence of
^{nant.} their

of their Religion and Liberties, against all Persons whatever, not excepting the King himself. Anno 1630, to By the other Oath, the Deputy engag'd them, 1640. to submit entirely to the King, not to take up Arms but by his Orders, and to take them up whenever his Majesty would please to order them; ready to March under his Standards, where-ever they should be call'd by his Commands. It was of this Oath, that the Scotch complain'd, as has been mention'd above, and this was made one of their Grievances to the King, in Consequence of the Pacification of the 18th of June 1639. Every thing in Ireland, 1639. Bow'd beneath the Lord Lieutenant, and this Year my Lord *Lestus*, Viscount *Ely*, was turn'd out from being Chancellor of the Kingdom, for not being Assistant to the Lord Lieutenant, in the raising of Troops for the King's Service.

I shall not here repeat, what I have said already of his Promotion to the Dignity of the Earl of Strafford, but I shall relate one Circumstance, which does him more Honour than the Peerage it self. That Dignity was a Mark of the King's Favour and Acknowledgment, for his Service in the Government of *Ireland*: What I am going to relate, is, a Token of the Love and Esteem that the *Irish* had for him. It has always been rare, that a Governor should have Virtue and Capacity enough, to know how to deserve equally the Affection of the Prince, and of the Country under his Administration: But it is so much the more rare in my Lord *Wentworth*, as that he had just before, Exacted more than two Millions for the King. This Extraordinary Tax was not only unattended with the least Spark of Hatred, but it was Granted heartily, and the *Irish* were willing to let the King

Anno King know, that their Love for so wise a Go.
1630, to verner, whom they had so much Reason to be
1640. satisfied with, had not a les share in their rea-
diness, than their Zeal and Submission for their
lawful Soveraign. My Lord Strafford's Glory
and Happiness, could not Rise to a higher
pitch; but there is very little Security in Great-
ness, tho' it seems never so well Establish'd:
His Triumph was only short-lived, and For-
tune only rais'd him to the Top of the Wheel,
to hurl him down soon after in a Tragical man-
ner, as we shall see in its Order. Besides, there
is some appearance, that his Applause came
only from the Mouths of his Creatures; for two
Years after, we shall see the Body of the Na-
tion amongst his Accusers, complaining of his
Tyranny and Oppression.

The occasion that I had to continue the Hi-
story of the Ottoman Emperors, from Selim the
2d, to Amurat the 4th, obliges me to a further
continuance of their History; Amurat the 4th,
as I have said before, began his Reign in 1623,
and his Empire mix'd with good and ill Suc-
cesses, lasted till the Year 1639, when he left
it to his Brother Ibrahim, of which I shall speak
in its Place, but the present Period of time con-
fines me to the Life of Amurat only; with
which it terminates. In the Year 1626, 1627,
and 1630, He was baffled before Bagdat; but
he was more Successful in 1638, and took that
Town from the Persians, which had been de-
liver'd up to them by the Turkish Governor in
the Year 1624. This Exploit was the last of the
17 Years Reigu of Amurat, for he dy'd the
following Year, or else in the Year 1640, ac-
cording to some Historians. He had his Vices
and his Virtues, a Cruel, Revengeful, and Co-
veteous Prince; but Active, Vigilant, and so
Frugal,

The Turkish Affairs.

The Reign of Amurat the 4th.

His Death and Elogy.
Accord-
caut and
Guille-
tiere.

Frugal, that he left Fifteen Millions of Gold in Anno his Treasury, which he found Empty. The ^{1630, to} Thunders that fell in his Chamber in the Month ^{1640.} of September in 1631, and burnt part of his ^{Accidents by Thunder.} Shirt, so much frighten'd him, that he felt a sort of weakness ever after. The same Month in the Year 1634, was fatal to the City of ^{And Fire.} Constantinople for a Fire, consum'd its most Beautiful publick Edifices; and more than Twenty Thousand private Houses.

The Tragical Death of the Patriarch *Cyrill,* is reported to have happen'd in the Year 1638, He was strangl'd by the *Turks* at the Sollicitation (as it's said) of the *Latins*, out of Hatred to his Confession of Faith, which was like to that of the Reform'd Churches.

Let us say something of the *Persian Empire*, ^{The Em-} which I have not spoken of since the famous ^{pire of} *Ismael Sophi*, who was its restorer; He secur'd it ^{the Sophi.} to his Posterity, who Reign even to this Day. *Schach Abas*, the First of that Name, and the ¹⁵ Fifth of *Ismael's Successors*, Reign'd from 1585, ^{Abas, his Reign.} to 1629, and is Famed for his Great Capacity, for his Gallant Behaviour, and for his ³ *Victo-* ^{He Con-} ^{ries.}

Schach Seli his Son, that succeeded him, on the contrary, is Infamous for his Violences and Cruelties: his manner of coming into the World foretold it: And his Hands full of Blood at his Birth, were a Prognostick of the Blood he should shed in his Life.

His Successor *Schach Abas* the Second was not Schach less Cruel, but this is not the proper Place to speak of him, for he did not Ascend the Throne ^{the 2d.} till the Year 1642.

Let

Anno Let us proceed to the Empire of the West ;
1630. to Ferdinand the Second held the Reins of that
1640. Empire from the Year 1619, till the 15th of
Petavi.
nani, The
Life of
Ferdi-
nand the
2d, The
History of
three Em-
perors by
Ricaut.
The Reign
of Ferdi-
nand the
2d. February 1637. At which time he dy'd, and left
 it to Ferdinand the 3d his Son, who was Elected
 King of the Romans on the 22d of December
 before. I have already spoke of the Father's
 Wars with the Kings of Bohemia and Sweden,
 the first of which lost his Crown and Electo-
 rate, and the latter lost his Life by Gaining of
 a Battle ; and by that means confirm'd the Em-
 pire to Ferdinand, who seemed to Totter on
 the Throne. He had joyn'd the Mantuan and
 the Monserrat, if France had not drove the Spa-
 niards from thence in the Year 1630, and by
 that means oblig'd the Emperor to leave the
 Duke of Mantua in the Possession of his Domi-
 nions, by the Treaty of April 1631. He made
 Peace with George Ragotzky, who after the
 Death of Bethlehem Gabor, which happen'd on
 the 15th of November 1629, was Elected Prince
 of Transilvania, and had Courage and Ambi-
 tion enough to pretend to maintain himself In-
 dependent, both of the Port and of the Court
 of Vienna.

France likewise cross'd the design which Fer-
 dinand had Form'd, to make a Monarchy of the
 Empire, subject to the House of Austria ; At least
 he was suspected of such a design, and France
 taking the advantage of the Jealousie of some,
 and the Fears of others, made that Powerful
 League with the King of Sweden, which put a
 stop to the Carrer of the Imperial Arms, that
 had already Triumph'd over the King of Den-
 mark, and stripped the Dukes of Meckleburg and
 Pomerania of their Dominions.

Religion was the Pretence, which *Ferdinand* Anno made use of to justify his Proceedings : He al- 1630, to ledg'd, That he could not endure to see the 1640. Estates of the Church, in the prophane Hands of secular Princes ; and that he was resolv'd to strip them of those Estates, and restore them to the Church men ; by this he gain'd the Fa-vour of the latter, but at the same time he made the former his Enemies ; besides he Vio-lated the Treaty of *Passau*, which confirm'd the possession to the Secular Princes, and put the whole Empire in a Flame. Neither did he suc-ceed ill in his Design, and notwithstanding that his Hopes revived with the Death of the King of *Sweden* ; yet the Spirit of the deceased King seem'd to Animate the Generals of that Crown, and that Spirit, together with the Constancy of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and The Con-^{rage of} that Illustrious Heroine his Widow, who ^{the Land-} after his Death, took on her the Government of grave of his Estates ; and the Succours which *France* af-fisted the League with, were obstacles that *Fer-dinand* could never surmount : After having kindled a War in the Empire, by his Edict of Revocation of Ecclesiastical Estates, it was in vain for him to think of extinguishing it by Repealing that Edict, and making a Peace with the Gospellers, which was concluded at *Prague* in May 1635. *France* would not suffer him to gather any Fruit from hence ; and joyn-ing her Troops with those of *Sweden*, put this latter into a Condition, to continue the War more vigorously than ever.

It was in the midst of these Wars, which are to be attributed either to the Ambition, or superstitious Zeal of *Ferdinand*, and which *The Death* could not be extinguished but by those torrents ^{of} *Ferdin-and*. of Blood that were shed in Fifteen Great Bat-

Anno tis; that he died, and left the Empire in a
1630, to flame, to Ferdinand III. his Son.

1640. The Valiant Duke of Saxe Weymar, did not give less trouble to the Son, than he had given to the Father. His Death delivered the Empire from a formidable Enemy; but the famous Swedish Generals, Banier, Horn, Torstenson, Victory of Wrangle, and Königsmark, defended his Country. The Swedish Generals, Banier, Horn, Torstenson, and those of Gustavia; made new Conquests themselves, and France intervening took Alsace from the Empire, which remained to the French by the Treaty of Munster.

Affairs of France. We have seen the rise of the Monarchy of France, under a weak King, but manag'd by an able Minister, and one of a Superior Genius. That Minister had, as I have said, propos'd two great designs: The Ruin of the Protestants of France, and the Humbling the House of Austria. He succeeded in the first, by reducing their Towns and Generals, and he proceeded fast towards the Execution of the latter: He weaken'd the Imperial Branch, in Italy, and Great Germany, and the other that reign'd in Spain, in Flanders, Portugal, and Catalonia, where his Intrigues caus'd terrible Insurrections; he forc'd, as I have said before, Ferdinand II. to give the Investiture of the Duchy of Mantua, to a Prince attach'd to the House of France, and every time that the Duke of Savoy attempted to stir in favour of his Imperial Majesty, it cost him dear. He was oblig'd, as we have seen before, to yield the Citadel of Lusa to the French, by the Treaty in March 1629. He

The Cardinal Habsburg like a General of the Army. would have gone back, but it succeeded ill; the French Army with the Cardinal at their Head, in Embroider'd Cloaths, with a Feather in his Hat, pass'd the Dore in the beginning of the year 1630 and lay'd Siege to Pignetol: The Place

Place was Invested on the 21st of March, and Anno the base ⁴ Governor surrender'd it on Easter 1630, to Eve. Thus the French had the Key of Piemont, 1640. and could bring in at any time what Troops they pleas'd. The Spaniards and the Imperialists once more abandon'd the Citadel of Casal, which they were on the Point of taking, and by a Treaty which Mazarin Negotiated on the 27th of October, the same Year that Fortress was put into the Possession of the Duke of Mantua, its lawful Lord.

^{L'Esc-}
langue.

^{Casal re-}
^{stor'd to}
^{the Duke}
^{of Man-}
^{tua.}

The War however continu'd till the Year 1631, and then it was ended by the Treaty in April, that I have mention'd: By which Treaty, Ferdinand the 2d gave the Investiture of the Dutchy of Mantua to a Prince, under the Protection of France. This Treaty not only reconcil'd that Prince to the Emperor, but it likewise reconcil'd even France her self with the House of Austria and the Duke of Savoy, to whom nevertheless she did not restore Pignerol.

Whilst Richelieu Conquer'd these Important Places for France, or prevented her Enemies from Conquering them, the Enemies of his Eminence, (for so this Year the Cardinals were still'd, by Virtue of a Bull of Urban the 8th,) reviv'd their Hatred, and formed Cabals against him, with a design to Ruin him. The Queen Mother and the Duke of Orleance, were still at the Head of the Male-Contents, the Queen amused the Cardinal with designing to depose Lewis the 13th, and to fix the Crown on the Head of the Count of Soissons, whom he would have married to Combalet, afterwards Duchess of Aiguillon, the Cardinal's Niece. The King would not believe a word of all this, and the Cardinal in his turn amused the Queen,

that

Anno that she secretly Employ'd her Judicial Astroⁿ
1630, to loger (to which Art she was not less Bigotted,
1640. than her Cousin *Catharine De Medicis*, Wife of

*He ac-
cuses the
Queen,
Mary de
Medicis.*

Henry the 2d,) to Dethrone the King, and set up the Duke of *Orleance* her second Son in his stead. The King being already prejudic'd against the Queen his Mother, who he believ'd loved her second Son better than him ; easily gave Credit to the Cardinal, thus putting more Confidence in his Favourite than ever, and being full of Suspicious and Diffidence for the Queen his Mother, he gave himself up intirely to be guided by the Cardinal.

*She Es-
capes into
Flanders.*

The Queen her self accomplish'd her own Ruin, having made her Escape from *Compeigne*, where the King had left her, and fled into *Flanders*, from whence they had no Thoughts to make her return. Afterwards she sollicited in vain to be recalled, and after that she went into *England*, cross'd the Sea again, and at last came to *Cologn*, where she dy'd Miserably.

*She dyes
at Co-
logne.*

The Duke of *Orleance* did not act more prudently, flying from *Orleance* into *Burgundy*, from *Burgundy* to *Lorrain*, from *Lorrain* to *Flanders*, where he went after the Queen ; and both of them quitted the Field to the Enemy.

*The Duke
causes an
Insur-
rection in
Langue
doc.*

It was in vain, that in the Year 1632, the Duke of *Orleance*, with the Assistance of the Duke of *Montmorency*, who hated the Cardinal, enter'd *Languedoc*, and made an Insurrection in his Favour. The Battle Gain'd at *Castelnau-dery*, in September by the Royalists, Triumph'd over Rebellion, and *Montmorenci* being there made

*The Bat-
tle of Ca-
stelnau-
dery.*

Prisoner, had his Head cut off by the Sentence of the Parliament of *Toulouse*. This Execution was preceded by the Beheading of the Marshal *Marillac*, who was Beheaded on the

*The Death
of Mont-
morenci,
and Ma-
rillac.*

10th of May the same Year, and both these were

were looked on by the People as two Victims, Anna
that were rather Sacrificed to the Cardinal's ^{1630, to}
Hatred, then to the good of the State. ^{1640.}

The Accommodation of the Duke of Orleans, ^{Intrigues} preceded the latter of these two fatal Executions; but it was soon follow'd ^{of the} by a new Rupture, and scarce a Year past that he did not fly from the Court, and make some Treaty with its Enemies, or Malecontents. His Love for the Princess of Mantua, whom he had a mind to marry, Exasperated the Queen Mother against him, who would have had him to marry a Princess of Florence; he marry'd neither. But his new Passion for Margaret of Lorraine Embroiled him with the King, unknown ^{for Margaret of Lorraine,} to whom he marry'd her secretly in 1633, and would never consent to the Dissolution of the Marriage. Notwithstanding all the Offers and Threats of the King and Cardinal, he again made an Accommodation with both, and made his Escape again more than once. But it did not generally last long, and his Party paid Dear, for they fell Victims either to the King or the Favourite's resentment, or to the publick Security. Such was the death of the Duke of Montmorenci, in The Death the Year 1632, and such the Death of Cinq-mars, and of Thou, in the Year 1642. Thus ^{mars, and Thou.} too, the Duke of Lorraine lost his Dutchy, for having married his Sister to the Duke of Orleans. Thus this Prince, as weak as he was inconstant, only kindl'd Brushwood Fires, which ^{of his} as soon as they were lighted went out, and only serv'd to alarm the Cardinal, who broke all his Measures, Beheaded the Leaders of the Conspiracy, or stripped them of their Estates.

Anno 1630. The Count of *Soissons*, to whom the Cardinal would have married his Niece, and to whom 1640. (it is said) he gave Hopes of the Crown, gave *The Death of the Count of Soissons.* the Cardinal greater Uneasiness than the Duke of *Orleance*. The Slights which this Prince of the Blood had shewn for so unworthy an Alliance, drew on him the Cardinal's Hatred and the King's Disgrace. However his Peace was made in the latter End of the Year 1637, but the Earl and the Favourite were both too Haughty to be sincerely reconcil'd. New Discontents ingaged the Earl in a new Rebellion, and he was Killed in the Battle of *Sedan*, either by a Soldier of his Guards, Corrupted by the Cardinal, as some will have it, or else by an unlucky shot from an unknown Hand.

The Cardinal's Lucky Star.

Thus the Cardinal's Enemies fell a Sacrifice to his lucky Star; it was that which made him Triumphant over the Enemies of the State, the Government of which was Exercised by him with an Authority, which left *Lewis* the 13th, only the bare Name of King. *France*, under this Ambitious and all Powerful Minister, held *Savoy* and *Lorrain* in Chains. Her Leagues with the famous *Gustavus*, and the Valiant Duke of *Weymar*, did not only secure her own Frontiers from the Imperial Armies but gave her an opportunity of bringing the *French* into *Germany*, which serv'd as an Inlet to those Important Conquests which they made afterwards. The Death of the Duke of *Weymar*, which happen'd the 18th of July 1639, rather was of Service, than hurtful to *France*, for the Cardinal was Jealous of him, and is suspected to have had him Poisoned.

The *French* Arms had not less Success in *Flanders*, and if the League concluded with the States-General the 8th of February 1635, and renew'd

renew'd several times after, did not put France Anno into the Possession of Luxemburg, Namvre, Hainaut, Spanish Flanders, and the Artois, according to the Project of those Treaties, it at least facilitated the Conquest of the latter, by the taking off her Capital¹, The Conquest of the Artois.

Other more dangerous Leagues fomented by the Cardinal's Intrigues, gave Mortal Wounds² In Auto to the very Heart of the Spanish Monarchy, by August 1640, causing Insurrections in Catalonia and Portugal; the Catalans gave themselves to Lewis the 13th, and he accepted of the Gift,³ and if that King³ In 1640, dom did not remain all his, he at least kept the Roussillon, which this Rebellion gave him an opportunity to make himself Master of.

As to Portugal, it is said that Cardinal Richelieu had Negotiated the Insurrection in the Year 1638, but it did not break out till 1640. The Insurrection in Portugal. On the first of September, Seven Portuguese Lords, undertook to free their Country from the Spanish Yoke; Such was the Conspiracy of the Seven Persian Lords, to deliver themselves from the Usurpation of the Magi; and such was the Success of both; The Seven Persians destroy'd the Usurper in his Palace; and the Seven Portuguese Massacr'd, in the Palace of Lisbone, the Imperious Vasconcellos, Minister of State of the Court of Castile, and threw his Body out of the Windows, crying, Long Live King Don John the 4th. This Cry was Echoed through all the Palace and the City, and thus John Duke of Bragansa, Ascended the Throne of Portugal, to which he was the Lawful Heir. This Revolution was likewise so universal and so swift, that in less than two Years it had the same Success in the East-Indies and America, where Portugal had Territories.

Anno 1630, But to return to France, such were the Com-
 1630, to motions of that Kingdom, as I have describ'd ;
 1640 Such her Wars, her Intrigues and Succeſs, un-
 der a weak King, and an able and powerful
 Minister, who never Pardon'd his Enemies, but
 amply rewarded all that were devoted to his
 Service. Neither the King, nor the Cardinal,
 did survive long these Great Revolutions :
 But it is not time as yet, to speak of their
 Death, let us say a word of the Birth of the
 Prince that Succeeded *Lewis* the 13th, who was
 Born within the Period of time that I am at
 present confin'd to. The Queen brought him
 into the World on the 5th of September 1638,
 after having been married Twenty Three Years.
 The Birth of this Prince, was the cause of Ex-
 traordinary Joy throughout the whole King-
 dom, for the People began to dispair of seeing
 an Heir Born to the Crown, and did not know
 to which Side to turn their Vows and Hopes.
 The Dauphin was therefore looked on as the
 Gift of Heaven, and they called him, *Given of
 God*, because really there was something Miracu-
 lous in his Birth, and *Lewis* the 14th had this
 Sirname when he came to the Crown. His Life
 has not been less wonderful, as we shall see in
 its Order, and never Reign was filled with so
 many Prodigious Events ; one of them is, that
 he was Born with Teeth, with which he tore
 his Nurse's Nipple. A Melancholy Prognostick,
 says an Author of those Times, which Precau-
 tions the Neighbouring States to be provided
 against his Voraciousness and Invasions. The
 Fable of *Hercules* has something in it that re-
 sembles this Circumstance, whom *Juno* could
 not Nurse, because he bit her Breast. But *Her-
 cules* far from being the Scourge of Human
 Kind,

*The Birth
 of Lewis
 the 14th.*

*See Dio-
 dorus.*

Kind, Employ'd his Arms only against the Mon- Anno
sters and Tyrants that Ravag'd the Earth. 1639, to

As the Power of the French Monarchy en- creas'd, that of Spain dwindled in Proportion ; Such is the Destiny of those two Crowns, at least it has been such for some Ages, the Grandeur of the one was ever the Diminution of the other ; they were almost always at War, and the Treaties of Ratisbone and Querasque, could not prevent indirect Surprises and Hostilities, which they from time to time committed against one another. At last they came to an open Rupture in 1635, and France declar'd War against Spain : This was Pursuant to a League Offensive and Defensive, concluded with the States-General. The Cardinal Infant was then Governour of the Low-Countries, and his Troops invaded Picardy in 1636, but they were driven from thence the next Year, and that Governour could not prevent the taking of Arras and Aris, by which France was Mistress of the Artois. When we come to the Affairs of the Low-Countries, we shall see what Losses Spain sustain'd by the Arms of the Republick.

The Count D' Harcourt, did not Incommode Spain less on the side of Milan and Savoy ; but the Rebellion in Catalonia, and the Revolt of Portugal, made more considerable Breaches in that Monarchy ; and Cost her a Province and a Crown, which she could never since recover. These Misfortunes are Imputed to the Pride and Incapacity of her first Minister, as the Advantages of France are Imputed to the good Star and Capacity of Her's.

The Republick of Holland, laying hold of the Declension of the Spanish Monarchy, Establish'd her Liberty, and Augmented her Dominions, not only in Europe, but in the Indies, and Brasil.

Her

*Anno. Her Wife and Valiant Stad-holder, was not
1630, so less assiduous, how to make her Happy and Tri-
1640. umphant, than his Illustrious Predecessors, Wil-
l^miam and Maurice, nor did Fortune favour him
Airzema, less. We have seen the first five Years of his
The Life
of the
Prince of
Orange, Years that I am going to give an account of,
Fredetick were not less Glorious. I shall begin with his
Henry. Exploits in *Flanders*, which more particularly
Father relate to himself than the others, and I shall
Joseph, conclude with those of his Lieutenants, and
Siri Nani, *Vice-Admirals in the Indies.*
History of
*the Repub.**

The Year 1630 was Quiet, and it seem'd as if the Republick being satisfied with the Successes of 1629, thought of nothing now, but Establishing Tranquillity. Perhaps likewise, being Intent on the Actions of the formidable *Gustavus*, and on the Rapidity of his Victories, they waited to see how far he wold carry them, before they would venture on any Action. They were pleas'd to see him humble the House of *Austria*; but they did not desire so dangerous a Conqueror for their Neighbour. But whether it proceeded from Moderation, or Policy, the States kept on the Defensive, and it was *Spain* that attack'd them, about the latter end of the Year 1631.

The Event
of the
Boats. The Action was in the Territory of *Zealand*, about one of the Islands call'd *Tolen*; between the Isle of *Schouwen*, and *Bergomopzom*. It was under this Island, that the Prince of Orange's Fleet lay conceal'd, on advice that they had of a design of the Enemy. But it was kept very Secret, and they never truly discover'd what their design was. They only learnt, that they were Arming out some Boats, and filling them with Soldiers; but whether it was with design

to surprise *Williamstad*, or else to build Forts to Anno Cut off the Communication between *Holland* 1630, to *Zealand*, is uncertain. Whatever it was, 1640, the Vigilance of the Prince of *Orange*, prevented the Execution of their Enterprise; His Fleet that went to Spy them in the Island of *Toren*, perceiving that their Boats, for want of good Pilots, and thro' their Ignorance of the Tides remain'd dry on the Sand, came up within Cannon shot, and threaten'd to beat them to Pieces, if they did not surrender at Discretion. They were oblig'd to do it, and Four Thousand Men were thereupon made Prisoners of War. This Event, which is call'd *the taking of the Boats*, happen'd on the 13th of September, and Rous'd the *Belgick-Lyon*, who not satisfy'd with this Victory, made more Important and Successful Reprisals to revenge this Aggression.

On the 10th of June, the Prince of *Orange* Conquested at the Head of the States Army came to the *Grave*, pass'd the *Maes*, and came before *Venlo*, of the Prince of Orange. which he carry'd, and *Ruremond* after, without much Resistance. But Count *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*, Governor of *Frise*, was kill'd at the Siege of *Ruremond*. His Son *Ernest* succeeded him in his Governments, which the Estates of the Country made Hereditary in his Family.

The Reduction of these two Places, was follow'd by the Reduction of two other of much greater Consequence, *Mastricht* and *Limbourg*; particularly the first, which Covers Holland's *Brabant*. The Marquis of *Croix* attempted in vain to Raise the Siege, *Papenbeim* Post'd thither from *Germany*, but with no better Success; and the Town was forc'd to Capitulate on the 22d of *August*, being Ten Weeks from the opening the Trenches. The States have since taken great Care of its Preservation, and if the

Anno the French took it from them 1673, they recover'd 1630, to it again in 1679, by the Treaty of Nimigen, and 1640. all the Efforts of their Enemies have not been able to wrest it out of their Hands since.

Negociations of Peace.

France breaks the Conferences.

Treaty between the Crown and the States.

Rhinbourg taken.

These Conquests were succeeded by Negotiations and Conferences for a Peace: They were open'd at the Hague, where the Duke of Arschot, the Archbishop of Macklin, and the Abbot of St. Vaast came on the part of the Infanta, Governor of the Low-Countries; but the Conferences were Cross'd, and at last quite broke off by the Intrigues of France. Cardinal Richelieu knew that the Truce was near concluded, and propos'd by the Baron Charnace, Ambassador from Lewis the 13th to the States, to pay them a Million of Livers toward the Expence of the War. The States Engag'd to continue it, and would not listen any more to the Proposals of

the Infanta's Deputies, who dy'd soon after this Rupture. The Marquis of Aytona, took the Government on him until the Cardinal Infant should come thither, but he did not arrive till the following Year. This Years Campaign ended with the taking of Rhinberg, which surrender'd on the 4th of June. It was not the Prince of Orange's Fault, that the Campaign was not more Glorious, for he offer'd Battle to the Marquis D'Aytona, who did not think it proper to accept it, and to Risque the Loss of the Low-Countries by so decisive a Blow, which might probably proved the Consequence of a Victory.

The Year 1634, the Armies only threaten'd Limbourg one another, the Marquis D'Aytona retook Limbourg, but the Prince of Orange prevented his taking of Maestricht, and he durst not attempt to lay Siege to that Place in the Prince's Sight, who narrowly observ'd him; So that the two Armies

Armies retired without undertaking any thing farther.

Anno
1630, to

1640.

The Year 1635, was Chequer'd with good and ill Success; France, which till then, had satisfy'd herself with only supporting Spain's Enemies, pretending still to observe the Treaty of Vervins, at last took off the Mask, and concluded the Offensive and Defensive League with Spain.

France

Declares

War a-

gainst

Holland, which I have mention'd, and on the 6th of June declar'd War against Spain: Her Armies took the Field, and took Tierlmont, Diest, and Arschot, Places of little Consequence, but they could not take Lorrain, and were forc'd to Raise the Siege for want of Provisions. The Spaniards on the other Hand, Commanded by one Captain Eenholt a Flemming, surpris'd the Fort of Schenck, which by its Situation in a Point where the Rhine separates it self in two Arms, is one of the Keys of the Country: He attack'd it, and carry'd it on the third Assault. The Prince hasten'd thither, but he came too late, and he could not retake it till the next Year.

Fort

Schenck

surpris'd

by the

Spaniard.

The Year 1636, concluded with the retaking of this Fort, which the Prince of Orange stripp'd the Spaniards of, after a whole Years Blockade; and with the new Treaty of France with the States, by which France engaged to pay the States Yearly, Five Hundred Thousand Crowns.

The Prince

of Orange

retakes it.

The taking of Breda, which surrender'd the 9th of October to the Prince, concluded the Campaign of 1637 gloriously. The Cardinal Infant, who from the Year 1634, had been in the Government of the Low-Countries, instead of the Infanta, Archduchess Clara Eugenia, who dy'd at Brussels in 1633, did all he could to prevent the Reduction of this Important Place.

Breda sa-

ken by

him.

Anno Place. But notwithstanding all his Efforts, 1630, to this Town once more came under the Dominion 1640. of its ancient Masters, and this was the second time that they re-conquer'd it. The Cardinal Infant Indemnity'd himself on Ruremond and Venlo; but the States General look'd on the Loss of those two Places in Guelde as nothing, when compar'd to Breda, one of the Keys of Brabant.

The Prince of Orange, his Highness, whom till then, they had only stil'd his Excellency. France renew'd her Alliance with the Republick, to whom she oblig'd herself to pay Three Millions Eight Hundred Thousand Livers, and

Highnes.

The Year 1638, and the two following ones were not so Fortunate. The *Hollanders* were beaten in 1638, by the *Spaniards*, and driven from St. Maria, which they had made themselves Masters of, in order to Block up Antwerp. Count William of Nassau, scarce saved himself, with the shatter'd remains of his little Army of Seven Thousand Men.

Count William of Nassau Defeated.

Prince Frederick Henry thought to have been reveng'd by the taking of Guelde, which he B. of Orange sieg'd; but the Cardinal Infant making use of cannot take Guel. his Success, march'd to its relief with a Superior Army, and oblig'd him to retire. It was the same for the two following Years, and Guelde remain'd in the Possession of the Spaniards. Thus it is, that Fortune pleases to divide her Favours, and to allay the Glory of the Conquerors. Let us see what pass'd in the Indies.

The Events there were not so great as those in the Years 1628 and 1629, which I have related in their order. Nevertheless they were very considerable, and the Republick or their *East-India Company* still kept their Footing in Brasil.

Brasil. Their Dominions there must certainly be fine, since in the Year 1636, they sent *John Maurice*, Count of *Nassau* thither, with Patents of Governor, which Charge he Exercis'd till the Year 1644; and was then recall'd, because, says a Dutch Historian, that a General of that Quality put the Company to too great an Expence.

Brasil, which was discover'd by the Portuguese in 1501,² who soon after became Masters of it,³ is the most Eastern part of America, and of the greatest Extent: For it contains above Eight Hundred Leagues of Coast, bounded on the North, by the North Sea, and on the South, by the Country of the *Amazones*. The Portuguese who Conquer'd it, divided it likewise into Fourteen Governments or Captainships: *Pernambouc* or *Fernambouc*, one of these Governments was Conquer'd by the *Hollanders*, in the Year 1629; and since that, they Conquer'd the Governments of *Tamaraca*, *Parabay*, and *Rio Grande*, in 1633 and 1634. Count *Maurice* was desirous to add to them, that of all *Saints Bay*, but after having Besieg'd the Capital for a long time, he was oblig'd to retire.

The Truce concluded by the States-General in 1641, with the new King of *Portugal*, who had thrown off the Spanish Yoke, ty'd up Prince *Maurice's* Hands, and each remain'd possess'd of what they had; but in the Year 1645, the Portuguese broke the Truce, and reconquer'd the greatest part of the Country, which they entirely

² Aitzema. ³ Alvarez Cabrit, was thrown there by a Storm, and Erected a Column. ⁴ The Portuguese Historian says, that it was not till 1550. ⁵ The Portuguese History says Fifteen.

Anno tirely made themselves Masters of, and dispos'd
 1630, to sess'd the *Hollanders*. In the Year 1654, they
 1640. abandon'd all their Conquests by a Treaty Sign'd
 by their Governor on the 25th of January, and
 the Dutch have not since attempted to recover
 their fine Dominions in that Country from the
 Portuguese, but have satisfied themselves with
 dispossessing the *Molaques*; which Commerce
 they prefer to that of *Brazil*, and with fixing
 their Power in the Isle of *Java*, and in all the
East-Indies. Count *Maurice* was recall'd in 1644,
 made Governor of *Wesel*, and General of the
 States Cavalry.

It is a great while since I have said any thing
 of the Affairs of the Church and Religion, or
 at least I have but mention'd them confusedly,
 and as they related to other Events. What
 was done by *Lewis* the 13th in the beginning of
 this Century, in *France* on the one Hand, and
Ferdinand the 2d in *Germany* on the other, o-
 bliges me to give an Abstract apart, and I think
 my self the more engag'd to it, because *Lewis*
 the 14th and the Emperor *Leopold*, will hereaf-
 ter give me frequent occasions to continue the
 Narration.

*The state
 of Reli-
 gion.
 The Life
 of Cardi-
 nal Ri-
 chelieu,
 Nani Siri,
 Puffen-
 dorf.*

Lewis the 13th and his chief Minister, had
 resolv'd on the Ruin of the Protestants, as I
 have said before. This they began by the ta-
 king of *Rochel*, and all the other Towns that
 the Protestants were Masters of, and by the op-
 pression of their Chiefs, their Ambition and
 their Policy, prevented their proceeding
 farther. The lessening of the Power of
Austria, lay nearer at their Hearts, than the
 Ruin of the Protestants. The latter might be
 safely defer'd till another time, and they could
 not defer the other without imminent danger;
 Besides, they could not carry on their Designs
 without

without the Assistance of the Dutch, and the Anno Protestant States of Germany, and this oblig'd 1630, to them to keep some Measures with the Protestants of France. But those that imagine, that it proceeded from the Cardinal's Favour, are extremely deceiv'd. They had not a more dangerous Enemy, and it was He, that caus'd the Duke of Rhoan to be Poyson'd in 1638, as He caus'd the Puffen-Duke of Weymar the Year following, by the same Poysoner. At least the Presumptions are very strong against him. And lastly, It was he that laid the Plan for the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, which was put in Execution in the succeeding Reign. He dy'd before he could put it in Execution himself, and the Protestants in that Kingdom enjoy'd some Years of Quiet; but we shall see them strip'd by little and little, of all their Natural and Lawful Prote-Rights, proscrib'd at last, Vex'd in their Persons, in their Estates and Consciences, Wanderers and Fugitives, in Dungeons and in the Gallies, or else forc'd to Abjure their Religion, and Profess one which they have in Abhorrence.

Ferdinand the Second did not carry Things so far, but perhaps his Intentions were no better; and if he had not found greater Obstacles, he had not been less Cruel. Witness the Edict of 1625, by which he order'd all his Subjects of Austria that Profess'd the Protestant Religion, to Abjure it, under Pain of Prosecution. Witness too the Severity, with which that Edict was put in Execution by the Count De Herberstorf, against whom the Peasants of Austria rose up, Cut in Pieces the Imperial Army Commanded by this Rigorous Executioner of Ferdinand's Orders; Seiz'd a great many Castles, and Besieg'd Lutzen, and were not Conquer'd by Parival Wars against the Protestants.

Anno penultimo, but after Seven Battles, wherein a great
1630, to deal of Blood was shed on both sides, and
1640. - which, almost all those unfortunate Wretches
perish'd.

After this Tragical Expedition, the Edict of
1629 came out, in which Ferdinand declar'd it
Revoked all Alienations of Ecclesiastical Estates,
which were Granted by the Treaty of Passau,
and Ratify'd by other Edicts of Pacification.
This was declaring War against all the Protes-
tants ; For besides, that there were few or none
of the Protestants, whose Case was not Included ;
There was Reason to Fear, that Ferdinand's out-
ragious Zeal would not stop there, but after
having strip'd them of their Estates, he would
proceed and Force their Consciences. It was
therefore, that the whole Party Rose up : The
Princes and States concern'd, publish'd their
Manifesto for to justifie their taking up Arms ;
and Ferdinand was forc'd to Revoke his Edict, to
obtain the Peace of Prague, call'd so from the
Town, where it was concluded in 1635. But
Affairs had gone too far to stop there, and the
War, which that unjust Edict had caus'd, still
continued many Years, with those Powers who
were not Included in the Prague Treaty, and put
all Germany in a Flame. The End did not prove
Disadvantageous to the Protestants, who pre-
serv'd their Estates and Priviledges in the Em-
pire, where they maintain to this Day their Li-
berty and their Religion.

1640. *England*, whose History I return to, was not
A Continuation of less actuuated by those two Springs, Liberty and
the Trou- Religion, than Germany ; and the Parliament's
bles of Jealousie for their Religion and Laws, broke out
England. *in these last Nine Years, which remain to be re-*
lated, with much less deference for Arbitrary
Authority, than in the first Fifteen, which I
have

Anno
1640.

have given an account of. Hitherto the Thunder only Grumbled, but we shall see it in a little Time fall on the most Eminent Heads; And those of the Earl of Strafford, and Arch-bishop Laud will be the first that will feel the Stroke. The Parliament believed, that these two Victims were due to their Countrey's safety, and they accus'd them both of intending to alter their Faith and Government; but all their Application could not stop the Fury of the Papists in Ireland, who destroy'd more than 200000 Protestants by Fire and Sword, ^{3 In 1641.} and other more Cruel Barbarities. This Massacre Exasperated England beyond all Patience, and the Parliament us'd double diligence to secure the Nation against the Attempts of Popery, and resolv'd to be Revenged on those who had committed that Barbarity on the Protestant Colonies, in that Tributary Kingdom.

The Queen was accus'd of having a Hand in it, and the Parliament drew up a Bill against her, ^{3 In 1642,} Charging her with the Rebellions fo-^{and 1643.}mented by Papists in Scotland, and the Irish Mas-
sacrē.

It was impossible to accuse the Queen, without suspecting the King; and now nothing but mutual diffidence was betwixt the King and Parliament. Each design'd to Arm, and each did it; and both Parties now endeavour'd to Seize ^{Both sides} Arm. on the Fortify'd Towns of the Kingdom. The King thought to have surpriz'd Hull; but the Governor kept it for the Parliament.

The Civil War was then declar'd, and Scotland Join'd with England; The King's Armies were not Successful, and the Parliament's Ar-^{The Civil} mies us'd their Success with Moderation, ^{Wars.} whilst they were Commanded by the Earl of Essex: But Fairfax and Cromwell, who succeeded

[Anno him, pursu'd their Victories further, and with
 1640. more Eagerness : And the Fatal Battle of Næs-
 ~ v by, which the King Lost, left him no Retreat
 but to the Scots, who deliver'd him up the Year
 after to the English.

Crom.
well
*Seizes the
King.*

Cromwell, who began to grow Powerful, Con-
 fin'd him in *Holmby Castle*, from whence he
 caus'd him to be Conducted to *Hampton-Court*.
 The Prisoner King Escap'd, and flew to the Isle
 of *Wight* : There he thought to find an *Asylum*,
 but he was soon after given up to *Cromwell*, and
 brought to *London* to *St. James's*, from whence
 he came out only to be Condemn'd, and to suffer
In 1649. on the Scaffold.

Some accuse the *Puritans* and *Independents* of
 this Tragical Event ; others Impute it to the *Pa-
 pists*. All Historians of whatsoever Country or
 Religion agree, That the Queen a *Papist* and
the King's French Woman, carry'd on all the Intrigues in
 her Power to Establish Popery and Arbitrary
 Power, which generally go Hand in Hand. It
 is certain too, by the Confession of all Authors,
 that the King had too much Complaisance for
 this Princess ; nor had he less for *Land and Straf-
 ford*, and these two Guides that led him to the
 precipice, from whence they first fell themselves,
 by their Correspondence with *Papists*, gave
 Grounds to suspect them of the same Religion :
 And that the New Liturgy which the Arch-
 bishop, would have Introduced, was only pre-
 paring the way for Popery. The *Roman Catho-
 licks* believ'd it themselves, and it was (as they say)
 from the spight of their being deceiv'd, that
 they Fomented these Rebellions, which destroy'd
 not only these two Heads of the *English Hierar-
 chy* and Arbitrary Government, but even the
 King himself. But their Perfidious Intrigues,
 cannot Excuse *Cromwell* and his *Independants*, who
 shed

shed the Blood of their King by the Hangman's Anno Hand, and had less regard to the safety of the State and Religion, than to their own Ambition and Fury. Let us see all the Acts of this Bloody Tragedy in their Order ; and the Terrible Parts that each Person acted therein.

The Parliament, which the King had Summon'd to meet at Westminster on the 13th of April, began their Session. The King sending for the Commons to the House of Peers as usual ; The King Seated on his Throne told the Commons in few Words, that he had call'd them together on Matters of the last Concern and Importance ; and that the Lord Privy Seal ^{The King's} would inform them what they were, as he had directed him to do.

Then my Lord Finch, who succeeded my Lord Coventry spoke, and expatiated on the Rebellion in Scotland, (as he Stild the Covenanters taking up Arms) and Aggravated the Shame and Damage, which must redound to the Nation and the King, if they did not hasten to oppose their Irruptions. He declar'd, that it was the King's Resolution to March against them, with an Army sufficient to Reduce them, and that he wanted Subsidies to Entertain those Troops. He added, that the King would be satisfy'd with these Subsidies, and desir'd that they might begin with them, and that all other Taxes should Cease ; and promis'd that the Parliament should not be Dissolv'd, until all Abuses that might be slipt into the Government, should be Reform'd ; the Security of their Religion and Liberty provided for, which he protested, he was desirous to maintain, the first in its Purity, and the other in its Priviledges.

The Lord Keeper's Speech being ended, the King spoke again, and to let them see that there

Anno 1640. was no Aggravation used in the Lord Keeper's Picture of the Scotch Rebels, He produc'd the
 A Letter that they wrote to the King of France, to Implore his Assistance. My Lords and Gentle-
 men, said he, You will see by their Stile what Spirit
 Reigns amongst them, and what a Criminal Corre-
 spondence they hold with a Foreign Prince, in Con-
 tempt of their Lawful Sovereign. Read, continued
 he, Addressing himself to the Lord Keeper, and
 begin with the Superscription.

The Lord Keeper holding the Letter Folded, read the Superscription in these Terms, To the King, and afterwards Raising his Voice, None, said he, but the French can write such a Superscription to the French King; and whoever writes so, acknowledges the King they Address to, for their Sovereign; and therefore these Words are sufficient to Convict the Scotch of Felony; but let us see the Contents of the Letter, at the same time he open'd it, and Read the following French Words, which in English run thus:

Sir,

Your Majesty being the Asylum and Sanctuary of Distress'd Princes and States, we thought it necessary to send this Gentleman Mr. Colvil, to Represent to your Majesty the Candour and Openness of our Actions, Proceedings and Intentions, which we desire may be Engrav'd and Written to the whole World, as well as to your Majesty, with the Rays of the Sun. We most humbly beg that your Majesty would give Credit to what he acquaints you with from us, relating to our Affairs, and being perswaded of your Assistance according to your usual Clemency heretofore, and so often Experienc'd by this Nation, which will yield the Glory to none, of being Eternally devoted to your Majesty.

The

The Letter was Sign'd by the Earls of *Roxburgh*, Anno
of *Montrose*, *Montgomery*, *Lowden*, *Lesley*, *Fer-*
rester, and *Mar*. After having Read the Letter
in French, he Explain'd it in English, Expatiated
on the Proofs, with it made out of the Treason
of the Authors, and of the whole Party, of
which these were the Chiefs. He concluded
with the Necessity that the King lay under to
prevent the Conspirators, and consequently how
necessary it was for the Parliament to assist
him immediately with Money on that Occa-
sion.

All these Springs were play'd to no purpose,
by the King and the Lord Keeper; the Com-
mons were determin'd, and nothing could make
them alter their Resolution; The House of Lords
were indeed more favourable to the King, and
having resolv'd to Grant the King what Sup-
ply he demanded, before they proceeded to
other Affairs; they Communicated it to the
Commons, and sent a Message desiring their
Concurrence, and that a Bill might immediate-
ly be pass'd to that purpose. But this Earnest-
ness of the Lords was so far from producing
the desir'd Effect, that it only serv'd to Irritate
the Commons more, and they complain'd that
the Lords Infring'd their Priviledges by this
Message. That it belong'd only to them to de-
bate on Subsidies, and to take first their Reso-
lutions thereon, and afterwards to Communi-
cate them to the Lords, and that the Lords
were not to Interfere until the Commons de-
manded their Concurrence. They added, That
if the Lords would give their Assistance to the
Great Work in Hand, which concern'd the Pri-
viledges of the Nation, the Security of their
Religion, and the Reformation of the Abuses
that had Crept into the Government, then they
The Commons won't endure that the Lords should Interfere in the Subsidies.

anno regni eiusdem (d 40) anno regni eiusdem

Anno offer'd to Concur with the necessary Act, for
1640. the Re-establishment of Union and Peace, and
the Happiness of the King and his Subjects, both
in Church and State ; And after that, they promis'd to apply themselves immediately to the
Bill for Subsidies, wherewith his Majesty should
have Cause to be satisfy'd.

*A Bill to
set the
Scotch
Deputies
at Liberty.*

*The Earl
of Low-
don's Ju-
stification
relating to
the Letter*

But to shew that they had a different Opinion
from the King and the Lord Keeper, of the Earl
of Lowdon and his Adherents; and of the Let-
ter we have mention'd above ; They apply'd
themselves strongly to have that Lord Releas'd,
whom the King had sent to the Towers. The
Lords Concurr'd with them in the Act, they
pass'd to that purpose ; and by Virtue thereof
he was set at Liberty, but it was not until they
had heard his Justification. He acknowledg'd
the Body of the Letter, but disown'd the Su-
perscription ; which, he alledg'd, some of the
Covenanters Enemies had written, in order to
fix a Crime on them. That as to the Letter, It
contain'd nothing but what was Innocent, or at least
Excuseable : Since that all their Sollicitations to the
most Christian King, were only to Implore his Assi-
stance, without saying in what that Assistance con-
sisted ; but that their Deputy was to Explain it, and
was under Restrictions only to Sollicite the French
King's Recommendations to his Britannick Majesty,
so that they might obtain a more equitable Accom-
modation. That besides, the Letter was not sent,
and the Covenanters having reflected what a wrong
Explanation their Enemies might make of it : They
were resolv'd not to make use of it, so that the Letter
was laid by as an useless Paper ; nor could they know
by what means it came to the Court of England.
And lastly, that the Letter was written in May 1639,
when they were at War, and the Treaty of Peace
since concluded with the King, was a general Am-
nesty,

nessy, even supposing that any Thing Criminal, Anno
could be Infer'd from this Proceeding. 1640.

The Parliament were Convinc'd with his Reasons, and being perswaded of his Innocence, he was, as I have said, Releas'd.

The King took this for an ill Omen, and the Commons obstinately persisting not to debate the Subsidies, until they had agreed on the Reformation of Abuses, and Articles concerning Religion and Government, left him no Hopes, and he began to think of dissolving a Parliament that seem'd to him so Evil minded. But before he would proceed to that Extremity, he was resolv'd to make one Tryal more, and on the 14th of May he sent Sir —— Vane his Secretary to the Commons, for to represent to them the pressing Necessity he had for the Twelve Subsidies, and that if they Granted them, he would give up all other Taxes, and promis'd to approve of such Resolutions as the Parliament should come to for the publick Good. But (added Vane) the Conjunction is such, that the King's Request can admit of no Delay; and if any is offer'd, the King will look on it as an absolute refusal, which will oblige him to take other Measures.

The Author of the History of the Civil Wars, whose Testimony is Irreproachable, relates a very particular Fact thereupon, which lets us see the King's ill Fortune, and how he was betray'd by those he Confideth in most. He says, That the Commons thought Twelve Subsidies Excessive: That they were dispos'd to Grant a Part; so that the Question was only more or less, when Sir —— Vane, Secretary of State, who was present at the Debate, told them, that they Troubled themselves to no purpose, and that the King would have all or none. That Author adds, that Vane did this of his own Head Maliciously, not only without any Order from

Anno 1640. from the King, but with design that the King might be refus'd by the Commons, and so the Expedition against Scotland might prove Abortive;

His Hatred to the Earl of Strafford. and that this proceeded from his Hatred to the Earl of Strafford, who was the Principal Mover. He tells us too, the Cause of his Hatred to the Earl, and that it proceeded from that Lord having been made a Baron of Raby, which Title he look'd on as Usurp'd from him. Thus it is that Personal Interest very often Crosses the Interests of the Prince and State; and that revengeful Subjects, Sacrifice their Sovereign Fortune to their own private Malice. Such a this was the sacrifice that Vane made. He Sow'd the Commons, as he foresaw he should, and neither Promises nor Threats, with which he concluded his Message, were able to shake their Resolution or prevail.

The Parliament Dissolv'd. The House resolv'd it self into a Grand Committee, and resolv'd not only to stand fast to their first Resolution, but to protest against the War of Scotland, which they look'd on as unlawful. The King was inform'd of this, and Hesitated no longer about Dissolving the Parliament, but did it the next Day. The King came to the House himself, and after having Thank'd the Lords for their Affection, he Reproached the Commons with their ill Will, and the Lord Keeper by his Order Dissolv'd them in these Terms: *My Lords, and You Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the King Dissolves this Parliament.*

A Dissolution like this, almost at the beginning of the Session, carry'd with it Marks of the Prince's Anger, and could not but be ill interpreted by the Nation: The King was apprehensive of this, and being desirous to prevent their Murmurs, he publish'd a Manifeſt-

by which he gave an account of his Actions. Anno

He began with Declaring, that it was the Incon-
testable Prerogative of the Crown to Call, Prorogue, ~~and~~
and Dissolve, the Parliament, without being obliged ^{The King's}
to give any other Reason but his Will. But never- ^{Manifesto}
theless he was willing to Condescend, and to Justify ^{to soften}
his Conduct to his People, on the account of so sud- lution.
den a Dissolution, which could not have happen'd
without Warmth; So that it was necessary that the
People should know from whence it proceeded. The
Rebellion of the Scotch Covenanters, who were ready
to Invade England, oblig'd him to Call a Par-
liament, to Grant him such Subsidies, as were neces-
sary to fit out a Fleet, to Raise Troops, and put him
in a Condition to Quell a Rebellion, which if not spec-
cally prevented, must prove of dangerous Consequence
to the two Kingdoms: That the Lords Convinc'd
of the Justice of his Demands, readily gave their
Assistance; but that there was a Seditious and Tur-
bulent Party in the House of Commons, that preven-
ted the wiser and better meaning part of the House
from Concurring with the Lords, and passing the Sub-
sidy Bill; That he came three times ^{to the Parlia-} ^{ment to Exhort them, and that he had as often met 13th,}
^{with Delays that were Ruinous to his Affairs, and to 21st,}
^{the Affairs of the Nation; the Success of which de- 25th}
^{pended on a sudden Expedition. Besides, the Mo-}
^{tives of those Delays, were not less unjust than the}
^{Delays themselves. All that was alledg'd was, the}
^{Necessity that there was to pass Bills concerning the}
^{Nation's Grievances, the Maintainance of their}
^{Priviledges, and the Security of their Religion. He}
^{protested, that he was well affected to those three Ar-}
^{ticle:, and was willing that the Commons should make}
^{what Securities they thought proper, assuring them of}
^{his Concurrence therein; out of Love to his Sub-}
^{jects, and his known Zeal for the Church of Eng-}
^{land. But, that these Debates might without Dan-}
^{ger}

Anno 1640. ger have been defer'd some Weeks or Months. That it was not the same with the Subsidies, which could not be defer'd without Embarrassing his Affairs, and forcing him to have recourse to other Means, for the Support of his Armies, and baving unhappy suspicions of so ill dispos'd a Parliament, whom it was not prud'ent to suffer to Sit any longer.

*My Lord
Claren-
don.*

The Historian I have Quoted says, that the King being made acquainted with Vane's Treachery, he had it Debated in Council, if he should not Recall the Dissolution of the Parliament; but that it being too late to get the Members again together, the greatest part of them being gone down into the Country, it was not thought adviseable to Call them again. All that the King could do to render this Dissolution less Odious, was to publish the Manifesto I have related.

However plausible these Reasons were, they made no Impression on the People; but the Convocation of the Clergy had a different Effect. They Assembled in St. Paul's Church by the King's Authority; this was at Laud's Sollicitation, who presid'd there as Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and perswaded the King to this Convocation, which a French Author ^{Stiles Unfor-} nate and Imprudent. He gives this Reason for it, that the Nation being already Irritated at the Dissolution of the Parliament, which design'd to have taken Cognizance of Religious Affairs, was much more so to see themselves strip'd of that Right, which they pretended to belong to them, when Assembled in Parliament. But what provok'd them most was, to see their Religion in the Hands of Men, that were suspected by them. The Terms too of the Convocation, Contributed to make it Odious. The King declar'd that the Session should continue as long as was

was necessary for the Good of Religion, and he should think proper. But this was not done without Consulting the *Civilians*, who were of Opinion, that as the King was Head of the Church of *England*, it belong'd only to him to Call such an Assembly ; and likewise it belong'd only to him to Dissolve them, so that he might continue them Sitting at the Time that the Parliament was Dissolv'd.

The Commons were not of these Doctors Opinion, and spoke of it as an Infringement of their Priviledges, and an Usurpation of their Right, which they pretended to have Jointly with the Lords, to make Regulations in Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Government ; and that they were putting themselves in a Condition to Exercise that Right, when to tye up their Hands, The Parliament was Dissolv'd, and the Clergy substituted in their Room, as if they design'd to set up Altar against Altar. They had indeed resolv'd to Examine the three Principal Articles recommended to them by the King ; *Popery*, *Socinianism*, and *Presbytery*. But they had a Leaning to the latter, which was not at all acceptable to the Court ; and their Zeal for the Extirpation of the two others, might perhaps be more sincere than *Laud's*, who was accus'd of being their Protector.

We have seen already, that it was not without Reason that he was suspected ; since that Prelate had till then such close Tyes with the *Papists*, and that *Arminianism* which he openly profess'd, had so Natural a Connection with *Socinianism*. It was likewise observ'd, that whilst these Things were Transacting, *Crellius* his Books from *Holland*, spread the detestable Doctrine *the Socinian's Books.*

It

Anno
1640.

~~~~~  
The Com-  
mons un-  
easie at  
the Con-  
vocation.

It was the King's Desire, that the Clergy should endeavour to Extirpate that Doctrine, as well as Popery, and the Convocation form'd Canons to that purpose. The Commons found no other Fault with this, than that the Affair was Translated from the Parliament, (to whom the Cognizance did properly belong) to a suspected Assembly. They found Fault too, that some Equivocations were in the Form of the Oath, to be taken by all the Clergy of the Kingdom, and that the Hierarchy, the Establishment of which was acknowledg'd by that Form, was alledg'd to be the only Lawful one to Govern the Church by.

Laud In-  
sulted in  
his Palace.

But the People did not stop at Censuring, but proceeded to Sedition, and the Arch-bishop was Insulted in his Palace of *Lambeth*, which is Situated on the *Thames* opposite to *White-Hall*.

' Rague-  
net.

The Abbot  
Rosetti  
Insulted.  
• Urban  
the 8th.

It was Eleven Days after the Dissolution of the Parliament, that this Tumult happen'd, and not before the Meeting of the Convocation, as the French Author that I have Quoted, will have it. The London Apprentices went at Midnight to Besiege this Prelate in his Palace, either with a design to Kill him, or else to Plunder his Palace. Whatever was their intent, they did not succeed, and the Arch-bishop having had notice, got Cannon brought thither, which defended the Avenues, and put a Stop to the Fury of these Mob. But they Plunder'd the Abbot Rosetti's House, the Pope's *Nuntius* to the Queen, and Kill'd some of his Servants. The King sent some of his Guards, who dispers'd them and took some of them, and sent them to Prison; but the Mob broke open the Prison Doors and took them out. One Cobler was the only Person that suffer'd; he was Hang'd and Quarter'd. The Majesty of the offended King demanded this Punishment,

Punishment; but says the same Author, this was the last stroke of departing Sovereignty, for after it, the King had no more than the Shadow of Royalty. Besides, the Abbot Rosetti was only Cardinal Barbarini's Agent: For he had no Letters of Credence from the Pope, tho' most Authors style him the Pope's Nuncio, as I have done after their Example. He therefore could not claim any more than the Right of the Law of Nations, and not the Priviledge of publick Ministers. This is what is remark'd by a certain Author, who says likewise, that the Parliament search'd for him even in Queen Mary de fort. <sup>Wicque</sup>  
*Medici's House, who was come from Holland,* (where she had taken shelter in 1638) to see her Daughter the Queen of England, and obliged him to leave the Kingdom and return to Flanders.

The Convocation however still continued <sup>The Con-</sup> Sitting, and did not Rise, until they had made <sup>vocation</sup> the Regulations, and Drawn up the Form of an Oath, I have mention'd, which was so much <sup>Grant the</sup> <sup>King a Tax</sup> Censur'd by the Commons. After this they <sup>on Beele-</sup> <sup>rical E-</sup> granted the King a Tax of Four Shillings in the <sup>states.</sup> Pound, out of all the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Kingdom, for six years: To defray the Ex-  
 pense of the War against Scotland. This was a <sup>The Con-</sup> new occasion of Grumbling, and the Commons <sup>mons Com-</sup> alledg'd, That it was contrary to the Laws; plain of it, which allowed of no Tax to be rais'd in the Kingdom, without the Consent and Authority of Parliament.

But what displeas'd them most, was the War <sup>They dis-</sup> it self, which they could not approve of. There <sup>approve of</sup> had been a very good Understanding between <sup>the Scotch</sup> the two Nations, ever since the <sup>the Scotch</sup> <sup>War.</sup> Introduction of the New Liturgy into Scotland; and the natural antipathy, which for some Ages had continued <sup>An. 1637.</sup>

Anno 1540. tinued between them, now yielded to the necessity they were under to unite in the Common Defence of their Religion, against the Oppression of the Episcopall Government. From hence it was, That the English Presbyterians, who then had the majority in Parliament, Look'd on the Scotch, against whom the King was about to make War, as their Brethren ; and were so far from supplying Him with the Succours that He demanded, to oppres them, that they rather wish'd that his Arms might prove unsuccessfull on that side. He was oblig'd therefore to have recourse to other Means for Supplies, and this Tax of the Protestant Clergy, whose Purse Laud manag'd, the Purses of the Papists, with the Queen at their Head, the Contribution of the Lords of the Council, and the Gentlemen of the Court, of the City of London, and its Neighbourhood, furnish'd him in three Weeks time with Three Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling \*.

*Where the King finds Money.*

The Two Hundred Thousand Pounds that he Exacted from thd City, notwithstanding the Opposition of three Aldermen whom he Imprison'd, are doubtless to be included in this Sum. Thus he did not want Money, but he wanted Counsel and Fortune, as we shall see presently.

*He makes a bad Choice of Generals.* His Choice of Generals is much blam'd, and it is said, That if instead of giving the Command of his Troops to the Earl of Northumberland, and my Lord Conway his Lieutenant, He had put it into the Hands of the Earls of Essex, and Holland, His Campaign had been more successfull. But being Govern'd by the Earl of Strafford, he would not Chagreen him, by giving the Command to two Lords whom he did not love ; and who professedly hated him. This Misfortune, if we may call the King's Choice so, was follow'd

\* See my Lord Clarendon.

<sup>a</sup> Ld. Clarendon.

follow'd by another ; and that was, the Earl of Northumberland's sickness, which prevented his acting, and thereby left the Command to my ~~W~~<sup>1640.</sup> Lord Conway; a Man truly brave, and had signaliz'd himself both by Sea and Land, agreeable as to his Person, Polite, Learned, but too great a Debauchee, a second *Petronius*. The King discover'd the Fault that he had Committed, but too late ; thereupon he wrote to the Earl of Strafford, who was then in *Ireland*, and desir'd *He sends* him to come to Command the Troops. *Unfor. for the* tunately he was sick too ; but nevertheless, in *Earl of* Strafford dispos'd as he was, and however necessary his Presence was in *Ireland*, he did not hesitate to leave it, believing he might be more useful in *Scotland*. Thus leaving the Earl of *Ormond* in the Government of *Ireland*, he Embark'd, and hasten'd cross the Sea, being determin'd to serve under the Earl of *Northumberland*, altho' he thought that he deserv'd to Command in chief himself.

The King being uneasie that these two Generals were indispos'd, and being Diffident, not without Reason, of my Lord Conway's Capacity ; *The Birth* resolv'd to go and Command the Army in Person, as soon as the Queen's Health would permit him to leave her. On the 18th of July she was deliver'd of a Son, who was call'd *Henry*, and created Duke of *Gloucester*. This Prince was more belov'd by the People, than either of his Brothers, but he dy'd too young to *Expe-* *He dy'd* fience how far they might have carry'd that *the Year* Love, which began to create Jealousie in the *of the Re-* two others. *storiation.*

The King and the Earl of Strafford set out much about the same Time, the one from *London*, and the other from *Dublin*, and met on the Frontiers of *Scotland*, some few Days after the

Anno Battle of Newburn, which my Lord Conway had  
1640. Lost. \* This is one of the most shameful Defeats  
of the English, if not one of the most consider-  
<sup>\* The 28th</sup> able : But before I relate the Action of the Day,  
something must be said of the March of the two  
Armies, and principally of that of Scotland,  
which first took the Field.

What I shall relate here, shall be on the Testimony of a Cotemporary Historian, <sup>1</sup> who  
cannot be suspected by the Partisans for Monarchy, Episcopacy, and the Romish Church : The  
Right of which he defends with all the Zeal of  
his Religion, whenever occasion offers. The

*The Army  
of the  
Scotch  
Covenan-  
ters Justi-  
fy'd.*

Covenanters, says he, did not take up Arms till  
after that they knew, that the Court and the  
Estates of Ireland united to oppress them, had  
proscrib'd them, declar'd them Rebels, and made  
great Preparations of War, both by Sea and  
Land against them. He adds, That on the re-  
ceiving of that News, they thought it necessary  
to think seriously on their Security, and to as-  
semble the Estates of the Kingdom, to give ne-  
cessary Orders for the Preservation of the King-  
dom, in the present pressing Necessity of their  
Affairs. The Scotch then were not the Aggressors,  
and according to the Idea which this Author  
gives us of their taking up Arms ; It is Exactly  
within the Case of Lawful Defence, and all the  
Odium of this War ought to Fall on *Land* and  
*Strafford*, who were the Advisers of it, and en-  
gag'd the unfortunate King therein.

*Their At-  
tack.* The Covenanters made the best use of the Ad-  
vice they had receiv'd, and were resolv'd not to  
be surpris'd ; and having laid Siege to the Ca-  
stle of Edinborough in the beginning of the Cam-  
paign, they made themselves Masters of it be-  
fore the End. The Reduction of this Place, was  
preceded by that of Dumbarton-Castle, and fol-  
low'd

low'd by the taking of two Citadels, one of which Cover'd the County of Nidesdale, and the other defended the Mouth of the *Dee*. Anno 1640.

Whilst the Army made this Progress, the Estates solemnly assembled, (notwithstanding the High Commissioner was absent, whom the King did not think proper to send there) Excluded the Bishops and Spiritual Lords, from Parliament; Confirm'd the *Covenant*, Annull'd all the Sentences of the Council which had prescrib'd them; and Attainted their Priviledges, and Legitimated their Arms, which the Necessity of the Times, and the Persecution of their Enemies oblig'd them to take up in defence of their Estates, their Lives, and their Consciences. And to shew that they had no design to withdraw their Obedience from the King, they declar'd, That all Governors of Places of their Party, should hold them in the King's Name, who should provide Successors in Case of Vacancies, with Consent of the States; Such was the Plan of the *Covenanters* Government, and such the first Progress of their Arms.

They did not appear in Line of Battle, till about the End of *August*. *Lesley* was General, and had the Marquis of *Montross*<sup>2</sup> for Lieutenant, who had already laid a design to abandon them, but durst not as yet put it in Execution; and had a share in the Success of this Campaign. The Resolution being taken to enter *England*, where they did not doubt being Joyn'd by the Parliamentarians: The Scotch Army March'd from the little Town of *Duns*, (Famous for the Birth of Doctor *John Scot*, who was from thence Surnam'd *Duns*) and on the 21st of *August* they pass'd the *Twede*, which separates the two Kingdoms: Their Design was to Seize *New-Castle*, but it was first necessary to take *Newburn*, which March'd

*The assembly of the Estates.*

*What was resolv'd on therein.*

**Anno** Cover'd it ; and this last Town was defended  
**1640.** by the River *Tyne*, which is very deep, and ford-  
 able but in few Places.

*Their Vi-  
ctory.*

Part of the Royal Army Commanded by my Lord *Conway*, lay Encamp'd on the Banks of this River. A better General would have render'd the Passage Impracticable to the Enemy, or at least made it cost them Dear ; *Conway* scarce durst dispute it. Some say, that the Horse did their Duty, but that the Foot ran away. It was an entire Rout, without the Loss of much Blood, only Twelve Soldiers being kill'd ; the rest fled, and Three of the bravest Officers, *Wilmot*, *Igbi*, and *Oncale*, who were ashame'd of this Scandalous behaviour, were taken Prisoners. This Victory, which the *Covenanters* Gain'd on the 28th of *August*, and Cost them no more than the Trouble or Courage of passing a deep River, put them in Possession, not only of *Newburn*, but likewise of *Newcastle* and *Durham*, into both which they put Garrisons.

*The Gar-  
rison of  
Berwick  
attempt to  
Seize on  
Duns,  
and are  
Defeated.*

The Garrison of *Berwick* design'd to Revenge the Royalists, and to make Reprisals on *Duns*, where the *Covenanters* had their Magazines ; but they took wrong Measures, and the Earl of *Haddington* oblig'd them to Retire with Loss. That Earl with two of his Brothers was Lost soon after, and bury'd in the Ruins of *Douglas Castle*, by the Magazine of Powder being Fir'd, either thro' the Neglect or Treachery of a Page ; and their Death was universally Lamented by the whole Party.

*Reflections  
on the  
King, and  
the Earl  
of Strat-  
ford's  
Conduct.* The Arrival of the King and of the Earl of *Stratford*, immediately after the Battle of *Newburn*, and the Taking of *Newcastle* and *Durham*, might have repair'd these Losses : If the King's unlucky Star had not bewitch'd him, and render'd him as it were immovable. One cannot say

say less of the King's and Lord Strafford's unaccountable stay at York for two Moaths, without putting themselves in a Condition to recover those Places, and Revenge the English Nation for the Battle of Newburn. It is believ'd, that if they had Rallied the scatter'd Troops, and March'd directly to the Enemy at the Head of their Troops, that they might have been Reveng'd, and forc'd the Scotch to abandon their Conquests, and submit themselves to what Terms the Sovereign should think fit. But instead of this, they spent the Time in vain Consultations, and by their Indolence gave the Covenanters an opportunity to Fortifie themselves, and the English to despise the King's Authority, whose Arms they had begun to be apprehensive of.

After the Eagerness which the King and *The Earl* his Generals had shown, for this Expedition, and the Noise that they made, about the necessary Preparations to reduce *Scotland*, which they seem'd to have so much at Heart ; It is hard to Guess at the Cause of their falling into this Le-thargy and Coldness all at once. As to the King, the surprize is not so Great : His Temper was such, that he was easily led into a War, and as easily induc'd to a Peace. The Scotch, as we shall see presently, Victorious as they were, propos'd one, and it is not to be wonder'd at, if the King listen'd to the Proposal. But as to the Earl of Strafford, it is quite different ; he was a Person of Greater Constancy in his Resolves, and had been Six Years preparing to reduce *Scotland*, under the Arbitrary Power of the King, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. At least his Enemies had that Opinion of him, and those were a great part of *England*, and all *Scotland* entire. He had Rais'd the Jealousie of some, the Fear of others, and the Hatred of

Anno all; and his Knowledge of this made him  
1640 Thoughtful, and was one of the Causes of his

W Coldness and Inaction. Besides the Haughty manner of his Treating the Run-away Army, exasperated the *English* against him, who to Excuse themselves for their Defeat, had recourse to the Motives of their Consciences, which they said, would not suffer them to spill the Blood of their Brethren. At the same Time, they accus'd the Earl of being the Incendiary, that had kindled up this War; and he not being Ignorant of these Things, was thereby deter'd from undertaking any Thing; with so ill dispos'd an Army.

The  
Scotch  
Army send  
Deputies  
to the  
King to  
demand a  
Peace.

The Scotch, far from making a bad use of their Success, beg'd the King to Grant them a Peace; and the Lords, as well as the Commons of *England*, Interven'd on their Side in order to procure it to the two Kingdoms. Deputies were appointed on both Sides, and they met at York, where the King was. The Scotch Covenanters presented him a Petition, Containing Protestations of their Fidelity, and a kind of Apology for their entering of *England*. And the *English* presented him another, Sign'd by a great many Peers of the Realm, Representing the Deplorable State of the Nation occasion'd by this War, and Conjuring both Parties, that it might be Terminated by a Peace, which they Passionately long'd for.

They are  
well re-  
ceiv'd, and  
a place ap-  
pointed  
for the  
Conse-  
rences.

The King gave a Favourable Answer; and to shew a desire for a Re-union, by which the publick Tranquillity of the two Kingdoms might be restor'd, he Summon'd an Assembly of the Peers to meet on the 24th of September, to deliberate Provisionally thereon, until the Parliament should Sit, which he Summon'd to meet at London on the 3d of November. He did more, the Scotch

Scotch Lords having Represented the City of Anno York as a suspected Place, because of my Lord Strafford's Power (their Enemy) there, the King had the Complaisance to transfer it to Rippone, anno 1640.

It was there, that the Commissioners on both sides met, and there the Fatal Treaty was concluded, which according to some, lost the King's Arms all their Credit and Courage, and occasion'd all England to come over to the Covenanters Side soon after.

The Earl of Strafford foresaw this Consequence, and tho' he was at a distance at the Head of the Army, he wrote to the King his Reasons and Remonstrances, to prevent the meeting of the Commissioners. What chiefly oblig'd him to oppose it was, that he knew the greatest part of the King's Commissioners, and amongst others the Earl of Pembroke, Bedford, Salisbury, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Mandevill, were not his Friends. And besides, he thought some of them were too popular, and that the others wanted Capacity to manage so Nice a Negotiation. He Represented all these Considerations to the King, and he added, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the Royal Authority, than to admit of Conferences with Rebels, and Treat with them on an equal Footing, at a Time when he had taken up Arms to subdue them. This one would think was sufficient, and what my Lord Strafford said, would certainly have determin'd a more resolv'd Prince to continue the War.

The Conferences were already begun, when the Earl endeavour'd to Inspire the King with Courage to break them off by a Vigorous Action: From whence, he hoped to gather more Fruit, than from his Remonstrances. Part of the Covenanters Army, had Quarter'd themselves

Anno in the Bishoprick of Durham. My Lord Strafford detach'd General Smith thither, with a Body of Horse, who fell on the Troops that were dispers'd in their several Quarters, Cut them to pieces, or put them to Flight, and took the greatest part of the Officers Prisoners. Thereupon he wrote to the King, advising him to make a good use of this Advantage; to abandon the Negotiation, from which every Thing ought to be fear'd; and depend on his Arms, from which every Thing was to be hop'd; and that this first Action was an Earnest of the entire Reduction of the Rebels.

Whilst the King's General spoke Loudly of this shock, the Confederates decry'd it with greater Noise, as a perfidious Action, and a Violation of the Conferences of Rippon. Thus it was that General Leslie Talk'd; he Complain'd of it to the King, and to the English Commissioners, and they Interpreted it in the same Sense, either from the Hatred which some of them bore to the Earl of Strafford, or else from their Resentment of the Injury which they believ'd they receiv'd, by an Action that disrespected their Negotiation. And besides, when they were inform'd that Smith, who had been employ'd in this Action, was a Papist, their Suspicions and Indignation were heightened against the General. But it is certain, that as the Commissioners had omitted to Stipulate a Cessation of Arms, this Action of the General's could not be accounted Treachery. But the King being Distast'd at the War before he began it, let the Conferences go on. Those who blame him with not knowing truly his Interests, lay the Fault on the Persons that were then about him, and compos'd his Council.

<sup>\*Lord Clarendon.</sup> Finch, Lord Keeper; the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hamilton, and Secretary Vane. The First,

First, tho' a Person of Fidelity and Capacity, Anno  
 (according to them) wanted Resolution, and  
 durst not displease my Lord Strafford's Enemies. 1640.  
 The Second was a Young Man, fitter to divert  
 the King, than to give him Counsel. The Third  
 was a Person of a changeable Character, and  
 there was no dependance on him. And the  
 Fourth was a real Traytor. Thus every Thing  
 Conspir'd to the undoing of the unfortunate  
 King, engag'd in a Civil War by the *Boutefous*,  
 and Incendiaries of their Countrey: Deceiv'd  
 by his Confidants, and at last seeing all his De-  
 signs frustrated by the Intrigues of his Commissi-  
 oners, who believ'd that they ow'd more to  
 their Privileges and their Religion, than to the  
 Aggrandizing of the Royal Authority.

The Conferences were then continued, and *Character*,  
 there was so much Ease on both Sides, that the *of the*  
 Treaty was concluded the 24th of *September*, *Scotch*  
 Five Days after the meeting of the *Commissioners*. *Deputies*,  
 The *Covenanters* Commissioners were  
 fewer in Number, and of lesser Quality than  
 the King's; but they were Persons of Greater  
 Capacity and Eloquence. At least, they had  
 Greater Zeal for their Countrey, than the King's  
 Commissioners had for him. They were but  
 Four, excepting the Earl of *Lowden*, who was  
 just releas'd from the *Tower of London*, and only  
 Gentlemen; but they all being nearly Touch'd,  
 they knew how to speak with that Energy,  
 Sweetness, and Vivacity, that they made them-  
 selves Masters of the Heart, and when they had  
 done that, they soon became Masters of the  
 Mind.

They Represented in a Pathetick manner, *Their unhappy Necessity* that they were reduc'd to, for to Speech at tak: up Arms, not against the English, to whom *the opening* of the  
*they were united by the Tyes of the same Faith and Confe-*  
*Government ; rences.*

**Anno 1640.** Government ; but to secure themselves against the Invasions of their Common Enemies ; That they had only their Religion and Liberty in View ; that they did not enter England to make Conquests, but to oppose Barriers to those that design'd to introduce Poverty and Slavery into Scotland. That they respected the King, for whom they preserv'd their Fidelity and Affection, which nothing was able to shake ; but Guided as he was by the Queen, a Biggotted Papist, by Archbishop Laud, and the Earl of Strafford, Zealots or Favourers of the same Faith, as well as of Arbitrary Power : They had Reasons to be more apprehensive of every Thing. That the same Danger Menac'd the English, with whom they offer'd to be reckons two Noble men among them, and far from looking on them as Enemies, they were desirous of nothing more passionately, than Jointly to take proper Measures for the safety of the two Nations, without altering any Thing of their Ancient and Lawful Government. This is what they Conjur'd them to by the Motives of their Union, their Fraternity under the same King, and more by the Tyes of the same Religion, under Jesus Christ their Real Head.

**The Fears of the Treaty concluded.** The King's Plenipotentiaries being such as I have represented them, had nothing to Answer to this, and they soon concluded the Treaty ; amongst other Things, the Treaty Imported a Cessation of Arms for Two Months ; In which Time they believ'd a definitive and perpetual Treaty might be concluded in London, whither the Conferences were translated, in order to be held under the Eye of the Parliament ; which the King had Summon'd to meet on the 3d of November.

**The Calling of the Parliament.** Each Party had Hopes from the Conferences being held in London. The King Flatter'd himself, the English, being Jealous of this Invasion, would Revenge themselves on the Scotch ; And

on the other Hand, the *Scotch* did not doubt, Anno  
but that the *English* would be overjoy'd to see 1640.  
themselves Supported by their Army; and that they would League with them against their Common Enemies. The Earl of *Strafford* was apprehensive of this, and did all that he could to dissuade the King from the Provisional Pacification of *Rippon*; by the which he disbanded his Army, whilst the *Covenanters* kept theirs on Foot. He was apprehensive too of the Meeting of the Parliament, and that they would give the last Stroke to the Prerogative, as well as to Episcopacy; but the King was determin'd and would not go back, being strengthen'd in his Opinion by the Courtiers, and the Lords of the Council, who Lov'd neither the Arch-bishop, nor the Earl of *Strafford*. But it was not long before he repented it, and found that the Earl of *Strafford* was in the Right, when he saw that his Army was really Disbanded, and that the Army of the *Covenanters* Encreas'd every Day. That the Parliament, as well as the *Scotch*, had no other Thoughts but how to secure themselves, against my Lord *Strafford's* Army, and *Land's* Hierarchy, at the Expence of both their Heads. Then I say it was, that the King found out his Error; but too late to Remedy it.

Difficulty was started in the *Rippon Treaty*, The City about the payment of the *Scotch Army*, during zens of the two Months Truce. The King's Commissioners had Consented, that the *Scotch* should London Lend Money to Raise Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling per Month, pay the on the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Scotch* and *Westmerland*; in case that the *English* did Army. not find other Means to pay them that Sum. But that Sum was supply'd by the Citizens of London, as soon as ask'd, and they readily Lent the Money, either out of assurance of being reimburs'd

**Anno** 1640. imbur'd by the Parliament, which was fud-  
 denly to meet, or else because they look'd on  
 the Scotch Army as their Auxiliaries. They had  
 proceeded formerly after a quite different man-  
 ner with the King : And a great many of them  
 had refus'd to advance the same Sum towards  
 the payment of his Army. A Proof of this,  
 that they suspected Designs against their Lib-  
 ery. The King might from thence infer, what  
 he was to expect from that Capital, and from  
 the Parliament that he had Summon'd to meet  
 there. The Shame of undoing what he had  
 done, or else the Cheat that he had Impos'd on  
 himself, in thinking to Gain every Thing there  
 against Scotland, by Granting every Thing to  
 England : Or lastly his Star, or the Fatality that  
 attended him, drew him first into the Resolu-  
 tion, and would not suffer him to alter any  
 Thing about the Conferences after.

The Parliament Sat, which prov'd so Fatal  
 to the Earl of Strafford, and to Laud, and after-  
 wards to the King himself. But before we re-  
 late the Condemnation of the two first, which  
 was the Greatest Stroke that the Parliament  
 could give to the Hierarchy and Arbitrary Go-  
 vernment ; These two being the Greatest Ob-  
 jects of their Hatred ; It is necessary to give  
 some Idea of the two Houses of Parliament, and  
 of the Principal Lords of the Court and Coun-  
 cil, who were then in Places. I shall not men-  
 tion my Lord Strafford, nor the Arch-bishop of  
 Canterbury. These were the two Persons accus'd  
 as *Delinquents* ; I shall only speak of those that  
 Condemn'd them, and Thought by their Deaths

<sup>9</sup> See Cla- to plain the Way to the Establishment of their  
 rendon Religion and Liberties.  
 and Rush-  
 worth.

I shall begin with<sup>9</sup> the Lord Keeper and the  
 Secretaries of State, because I look on them at  
 the

the Soul, the *primum Mobile* of the King's Council; the Directors, and almost always the Masters of the Debates.

Anno  
1640.

My Lord Finch Lord Keeper, and Littleton who Succeeded him, the Secretaries of State, Windebank, and Nichols that was Substituted in his Place, and Vane, had very different Qualities.

Finch chose rather to Banish himself, than to Finch. Expose the King with his Parliament, and Fled about the latter End of December for shelter to Holland.

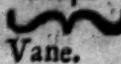
Littleton, who was put in his Place, was like Littleton Finch, a Good Englishman, and a Good Subject, Learned in the Laws, but not having the same Dexterity that his Predecessor had, he was not able to do Great Services to the King and State, in such Critical Times as these were: Besides, his Death happening in August 1645, prevented his seeing the Catastrophe of the Tragedy.

Windebank, being less Devoted to the King than to Popery, often greatly Evaded the Laws to Favour it, and sometimes openly Violated them; so that his Flight into France the latter End of this Year, was the Result of his Fear of being Comprehended amongst those, which the Parliament accus'd of Felony and Treason, which with Reason he was apprehensive of.

His Successor Nichols, had much better Qualities, more Zeal for the King, and was truly affected to the Church of England; Having besides, as much Integrity as Ability. He was as Faithful to the Son, as to the Father. Charles the Second, Recompenc'd his Fidelity, and restor'd him to the Post that his Father had given him: If this Employment was Honourable to him, all the Profit redounded to the King, who confer'd it on him not till he left France, and when

In 1658.

Anno when he was a Wanderer from Court to Court,  
1640. and from Countrey to Countrey.

 Vane.

Vane his Fellow Secretary was of a very dubious Character, zealous for the Church of England, and for the King's Service, before he became an Enemy to my Lord Strafford: But afterward, thinking of nothing, but how to sacrifice All, even the King himself to his Hatred. He was turn'd out about the latter end of the year 1642.

Let us now look into the Lords of greatest Note, those that were most attach'd to Parliament, and those that were most attach'd to the King, and were of his Privy Council: These were Edward Seymour Earl, and afterwards Marquis of Hartfort under Charles I. and lastly restor'd to the Dignity of Duke of Somerset by King Charles II. which Dignity had been enjoy'd by his Predecessors. Russel Earl of Bedford; Devreux Earl of Essex; Digby Earl of Bristol; my Lord Say, my Lord Saville, my Lord Kimbolton, of the Montague Family, known since by the Name of Earls of Manchester; Robert Rich Earl of Warwick; Henry Rich Earl of Holland; Stewart Duke of Richmond; Wriostry Earl of Southampton; Sidney Earl of Leicester; Cavendish Earl of Newcastle; Howard Earl of Berkshire; Piercy Earl of Northumberland; Herbert Earl of Pembroke; Cecil Earl of Salisbury; my Lord Seymour, Brother to the Earl of Hartfort, and my Lord Dunsmore.

On the Parliament's side are reckon'd, the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Warwick, Holland, Northumberland, Pembroke; my Lord Say, and my Lord Kimbolton: And the rest are look'd on as Royalists; but some of them were successively in both Parties, and All had Session in the House of Peers.

We

We must give the Characters of these Lords, Anno  
and afterwards the Characters of the most Considerable Members of the House of Commons. 1640.

To begin with the Lords: *Francis Russel Earl of Bedford*, is represented by the King's most Partial Historians, as a Wise Man, who had no other Ambition than was Consistent with a good English Man, one that aim'd at the highest Places; but was too Happy in his Fortune to affect Novelties. He died in 1641. and left his Son, the Heir to his Dignities, and Zeal for the Parliament\*, and for the King, both which he served successively.

My Lord *D'Evereux Earl of Essex*, was of so illustrious a Family, that his Birth alone made him respected; his Magnificence too had gain'd him the Peoples Adoration; but nothing made him so Dear to them, as his Hatred to the Earl of Strafford, and to Archbishop *Laud*. Besides, he had applied himself to Business with Success, and pass'd for one of the Oracles in the House of Lords, rather on the account of his good Sense and Honesty, than for his Eloquence; a good Englishman, and a good Parliamentarian, My Lord to whom the Nation entrusted the Command of their Armies, managing both the Monarch, and the Monarchy: And it was not his Fault, if the Civil Wars had not a happy Conclusion, and that both those Powers had preserv'd their Lawful Rights.

*Robert Rich Earl of Warwick*, and *Henry Rich Earl of Holland*, his Brother, were Sons of *Robert Rich*, whom King James I. had created The E. of Earl of Warwick. The elder was entirely on the Parliaments Side, who in the Year 1642. turn'd out the Earl of Northumberland, and made this Lord, High Admiral in his room. He was a Person of an agreeable Wit, and perhaps a little too

*Anno 1640.* ~~1640.~~ too much Libertine ; but knew very well how to Dissemble, and Impos'd on the People by an affected Devotion, and going regularly to Sermons.

*The E. of Holland.* The Earl of *Holland*, his Brother, had a greater Genius ; at first he was of the Parliament's Side, but not being a zealous Republican, he return'd to the King's Service; when matters were in a desperate Condition ; and had the Honour, rather than the Misfortune, to accompany his Master's Tragical Death with his own; for it hapned soon after the King's.

*The E. of Northumberland.* Piercy Earl of *Northumberland*, one of the Privy Council, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, was a Person as much distinguish'd by his Birth and Estate, as by his Dignities and Posts. He would too have been Distinguish'd for his Prudence, and Capacity, if he had had less Opinion of himself, and greater of others, and particularly of the King : For he is Accused of not having that Esteem and Respect for him, that he ought to have had as his King ; nor that Gratitude which was Due to Him, as his Benefactor. He quitted the King's Party, and came over to the Parliaments ; but he had no part in the bloody Catastrophe of his Sovereign, having withdrawn himself from the House of Lords, ever since May 1647.

*The E. of Pembroke.* My Lord *Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, was a good English Man, a good Protestant, and a Lover of the Laws ; but he suffer'd himself too much to be Govern'd by my Lord *Say*, and the Republicans. The Government of the Isle of *Wight*, brought him entirely into the Parliaments Measures. That Government was taken from the Earl of *Portland*, and conferr'd on this Lord by the Parliament, who from the year 1642, made him General of their Footy, under the

the Earl of *Essex* Generalissimo of their Armies: Nevertheless he had no share in the King's Parricide, but refus'd to be one of his Judges.

Cecil Earl of *Salisbury*, whose Father and Grandfather were so Famous in the Reigns of King *James I.* and Queen *Elizabeth*; made his Appearance first in the Court of King *James*, and afterwards in the Court of King *Charles*, a staunch Royalist: But nevertheless he all at once came over to the Parliamentarians, and continued firm to their Interests ever after.

The Picture given us of my Lord *Say* by his Contemporary Historian, \* is mixt with good and ill Qualities: On the one hand he is represented, as a Man of a Reserv'd Humour, Ambitious beyond his Fortune, and Rigorously Zealous for the Presbyterian Discipline, and for the Privileges of the Nation against Ship-money: On the other hand he says, That he always liv'd as an Honest Man, and tho' Young, led a Life of Exemplary Temperance and Moderation.

My Lord *Kimbolton* is spoken of, as of the two \* *Gracchi* in the *Roman Commonwealth*. He was of the *Montague Family*, and known afterwards by the Title of Earl of *Manchester*, as I have said before like the two Republicans I have compar'd him to, He affected Popularity, and his House. Like theirs, was open to every body; he preserv'd always his Fidelity to the King, without prejudice however to what he believ'd he owed to his Country, and to his Religion. Perhaps he push'd too far, when by his proceedings, he obliged the King to come to the Parliament, to Demand, That he might be Punish'd as Guilty of *Leze Majesty*<sup>6</sup>; perhaps too, the King was ill Advis'd.

Anno  
1640.

*The E. of  
Salisbury.*

*Lord Say:*  
<sup>2</sup> *Ld. Cla-  
rendon*

\* *Ld. Kim-  
bolton.  
Tiberius  
and Caius*

<sup>3</sup> *He w<sup>t</sup> d  
Presby-  
terian.*

<sup>6</sup> *The 4<sup>th</sup>  
of Janua-  
ry 1642:*

Anno  
1640.

*The Duke of Richmond, he was first Duke of Lenox, and made Duke of Richmond, in 1641.*

\* He was Proscrib'd by the Parliament in 1642.

*The Marquis of Hartfort.*

\* He Married the Earl of Essex's Sister.

*The E. of Bristol.*

I put the Duke of *Richmond* at the Head of the Royalist Lords, not only on the account of the Honour he had, of being nearly Related to the King, and of the same Family, altho' not of the same Branch with King *James I.* but also on the account of his Personal Qualities ; He was but Twenty one Years of Age, when the King made him a Privy Councillor, and Marry'd him to the Duke of *Buckingham's* Daughter, one of the Richest Matches in the Kingdom. His Wit, his Courage, and his Affection to the King, made him worthy the Esteem and Favour of the Court. But two Qualities which he had, prevented his being serviceable to the King, who loved him : The one was, his too great Diffidence of himself ; and the other (quite opposite) too great a Haughtiness in point of Honour. By the first he render'd himself too Dependent, and by the latter too Obnoxious. Always faithful to the King, and not being able to prevent his Tragical Death, he took Care of his Funeral.

*Edward Seymour Earl, afterward Marquis of Hartfort,* and some years after Groom of the Stole, was constant to the King, notwithstanding his being Brother-in-Law to the Earl of *Essex* \*, the Parliament's Generalissimo. His Birth and Great Estate made him appear with Eclat at Court ; but being Charm'd with Polite Literature, he preferr'd his Study in the Country, to the Pomp and Hurry of *London* and *Whitehall*.

*Digby Earl of Bristol,* one of the Privy Council, and Lord of the Bedchamber to the King, was Notorious in the Reign of King *James I.* for his Embassy to *Spain*, and under King *Charles* for his Disputes with the Duke of *Buckingham* ; who was a greater Favourite with the King than

than he. But after the Duke's death he was restor'd to the King's Favour, to whom he was very Serviceable : He was equally well Form'd, both as to Body and Mind; and his application to Learning and Business, had made him an able Minister of State; but he was a little too Opinionated of his own Merit. He was for some Time on the Parliament side ; but disapproving , *See in*

Anno  
1640.

*of my Lord Strafford's Condemnation,* he left it, Rush-  
and devoted himself entirely to the King, \* went over to France, and died there a little before the end of the Civil Wars of his Country.

*Wrioſtley Earl of Southampton,* one of the Privy Council, and Lord of the Bedchamber, had as many Great Qualities as the Earl of Bristol : Like him he had a happy Genius, a nice Judgment, and a facility of Expression ; Like him too, he quitted the Parliaments side, when he saw them carry their Authority, or Ambition too far ; and came over to the King, to whom he constantly preserv'd his Fidelity. Notwithstanding the ill Opinion he had of the Success of the War, he liv'd to see King Charles II. Restor'd, and Died Lord Treasurer 1667.

Sydney Earl of Leicester, was not less qualified for the Council and Negotiations, than for the Army ; he was likewise Employed both ways, having been Ambassador in Holland, Denmark, and France, before the Troubles of England ; and after the Death of the Earl of Strafford, he was sent to Command in Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant : But he did not keep that Post long, being suspected by the Court, and the Marquis of Ormond was substituted in his room. My Lord Clarendon however gives this Testimony of him, That he was perfectly an Honest Man, and faithful to the King ; but too Wavering and Irresolute. This Fault is attributed to his Study

*The E. of Leicester.*

Anno 1640. of the Mathematicks, which he passionately lov'd: These abstruse Sciences, which pretend to get to the bottom of every Thing, are more apt to Embarrass Affairs with Ideas too Subtil and too Metaphysical, than find out and extricate them from Difficulties. His Father ow'd the Dignity of Earl of *Leicester*, to King *James I.* and to his own Birth, being descended from a Sister of the Famous Earl of *Leicester*, so much talk'd of in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. King *James I.* Invested *Robert Sydney* with that Peerage, who died in 1626, and by his Death it came to *Robert Sydney* his Son, who is the Person I am speaking of; and he dying in 1677. Left it to *Philip Sydney* his Eldest Son.

Ld. Savill.

The Picture drawn for my Lord *Savill* is not Beautiful: He is represented Ambitious, Intriguing, Knowing, but more Perfidious; Betraying both the King and the Parliament successively; and at last, Hated and Despised by both Parties.

*The Earl of Newcastle.*

*Cavendish* was made Earl of *Newcastle*, by King *Charles* in 1627, and Marquis in 1643. He was afterward Created Duke in the year 1664. He was one of King *Charles's* Privy Council, and General of his Army. With these Titles, he had a large Estate, and was not less distinguish'd by his personal Qualities. Good Nature and a good Education laid the foundation, and his Courage and Affection to the King rais'd his Character.

*The Earl of Berkshire.*

*Thomas Howard* Created Earl of *Berkshire*, by King *Charles I.* being suspected by the Parliament, was Imprison'd, and afterwards set at Liberty. He came to the King at *Oxford*, and never forsook him. His Fidelity was his greatest Merit.

Ld. Dunsmore.

The Lord *Dunsmore* was less esteem'd for his own Qualities, than for his Wife's Virtues; She

was

was Daughter to the Earl of Southampton, and  
as Handsome and Virtuous, as he was Passionate  
and Weak.

Anne  
1640.

My Lord *Seymor* was quite different, being of  
a soft, easie Temper, a polite Understanding,  
and a lover of Ease. He left the Parliament to  
follow the King in all his Adverse Fortune, and  
he was one of the King's Commissioners at the  
Treaty of Uxbridge, which I shall speak of in  
its place.

*My Lord  
Seymor,  
Brother to  
the Mar-  
quis of  
Hartfort.*

After having seen the Characters of the Lord  
Keeper, of the Secretaries of State, and of the  
Lords, both of the Privy Council, and others,  
whether Royalists or Parliamentarians: Let us  
see the Pictures of those Members of the House  
of Commons, that were most active in pulling  
down the Royal Authority, or in defending the  
Nations Privileges.

I shall describe but Six: *Pym, Hambden, St.  
John, Fiennes, young Vane, and Hollis.*

*Pym* was Superior to the others, both in  
Capacity and Zeal for Presbytery, and Liberty;  
but nevertheless his Zeal was Confin'd within  
its just Bounds, acco ding to most Authors, as  
I shall speak more fully of hereafter, when I  
speak of his Death.

*Hambden* had the same Love for the publick *Hambden*.  
Weal, and for Religion; he was a Mild, Honest,  
Generous Person, and free from Corruption.  
Above all, he was Master of that admirable Sci-  
ence of the Polite Man, which *Socrates* practis'd  
so successfully: That is, by Feigning to enter  
into the Sentiments of others, he lead them In-  
sensibly into his own. We have seen the Sen-  
tence pronounc'd against him in 1636, which he  
had the pleasure to Revenge. He dy'd Fight-  
ing for the Parliament, on the 17th of June  
1643.

Anno 1640. St. John, Hambden's particular Friend, and his Council at his Tryal in the Star-Chamber, was not of so open and agreeable a Disposition as the other : But notwithstanding his Taciturnity, he had not less Resolution nor Penetration.

Sr. John.

Fiennes. Mr. Narbaniel Fiennes, was my Lord Say's Second Son, and had the same prejudices with his Father about Government, both in Church and State. He had partly Study'd at Geneva, and amongst the Swiss, where (says my Lord Clarendon) he forsook the Milk of his Nurse, the University of Oxford, for to Suck a Foreigner. We shall see his Disgrace in 1643, which oblig'd him to a Voluntary Banishment from his Countrey.

Young Vane.

, Sir Harry Vane, Son to the Secretary, was more Rigid, more a Presbyterian, and more a Parliamentarian in his Sentiments, than any of the others. He had all his Father's Resentment against the Earl of Strafford, and Contracted a strict Friendship with Pym, in order to destroy that Peer.

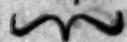
Hollis. Hollis, Youngest Son to the Earl of Clare, had all the Qualifications of an Honest Man. His Birth made his Merit more Conspicuous, and his Zeal <sup>\*</sup> for the Party, made him very much Regarded in the House of Commons. But being Married to the Earl of Strafford's Daughter, he did not appear amongst his Accusers.

\* He had  
Signaliz'd  
it by a  
hard Im-  
prison-  
ment in  
1629.

As for the rest, there was a perfect good Understanding amongst all the Members of the House of Commons. Being bound like the Jews of Old with the Tyes of Mutual Affection, and like them, full of Hatred to all other People, as the English Historian, following the Roman, expresses it.

The Cause  
of the Ci-  
vil Wars. The Lords, as we have seen, were not so strictly united on the King's Side ; and to compleat his Ruin, the Scotch Join'd with the English

Anno  
1640.



both Parliamentarians. Common Interest was the Tye that United them; both were apprehensive of the Arminian Hierarchy, and Arbitrary Power; and the Dread of these, was the Cause of the Civil Wars. The King might have avoided them, had he not been obstinate for Episcopacy and Arbitrary Government: And the Parliament, that at first did not design to Ingage in them, found themselves Involv'd by degrees, and as it were against their Will. They Arm'd first for their Security, and they afterwards found themselves oblig'd to continue their Troops on Foot to oppose the King's; and the Success of those Troops gave Birth to the Ambition and bold Design of a Leader, to overturn the Monarchy.

Such was the beginning, and such the end of the unhappy Revolution, concerted in this Parliament; which was Stil'd, *The Bloody Parliament*. But nevertheless it seems, as if there was a pure Fatality in that Revolution, or rather that they were lead into it by the secret Steps of Providence, without either of the Party's thinking of so Tragical a *Catastrophe*. But the King ought to have been more attentive to his Interests, to have foreseen the dangerous Consequences, and to have prevented them whilst he might, and before his Hands were Ty'd up: Or else the Lords of his Council ought to have been more Vigilant, and not to have suffer'd him to be Lull'd asleep, or rather blinded to the most Important, and most terrible Event of his Reign. My Lord Clarendon Reproaches them with this, and lays all the Fault upon them. Whatever (says he) was the Motive that prevented their giving their Advice freely to the King, whether it was their prejudice to the Parliament's Authority, or whether it was Fear of displeasing the Members;

*The Bloo-  
dy Parlia-  
ment.*

*Fault of  
the Lords  
of the  
Council.*

Anno 1640. They refus'd or neglected to assist the King in taking any one Vigorous Resolution against those Bills, which one after another, Degraded him of his Royal Prerogatives. He adds, That the Constitution of the Government is such, that the two Houses of Parliament cannot make any Statutes without the King's Concurrence; and that no Bill can have the Force of a Law, till it has first been approv'd of by him; and it follows from thence, that the King's Council have a Right to Examine the Acts, to the End that his Majesty may be acquainted with those Laws; and whether they are proper to receive his Assent, or to be Rejected: And from thence he concludes, that the Lords of the Council are equally blameable, whether their neglect, proceeded from their want of attention to the King's Interests, or from their too great Complaisance for the Parliament's Bills. It is now Time to look into the Session of this Famous Parliament.

In the beginning of November 1640.

The King came to the House at the opening of the Session; and it was Remark'd as a Melancholy Omen of what happen'd therein, That he did not come with the usual Magnificence; and that instead of going thro' the Streets with a suitable Attendance, He only came by Water in his Barge, as it were *Incognito*, and like a private Person.

Reflections  
on the  
King's  
coming  
privately  
to the  
Parlia-  
ment.

If the Simplicity of the King's going to Parliament gave Ground to presage, that the Issue would not be Favourable to him, He had Reason to be apprehensive of every Thing from the Pomp, with which the City of London receiv'd the three Champions, or Martyrs for Liberty and Religion, as they Stil'd them, who had been Condemn'd and Banish'd by the Star-Chamber,\* as

three

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\* The Honourable Reception given by the City of London to Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, Three Persons Condemn'd by the Star-Chamber for Sedition.

three Persons Guilty of Sedition. I have already related the Liberty, that *Prynn*, *Bastwick*, and *Burton* had taken to speak against the Hierarchy, and *Laud's* new Liturgy in too Violent Terms ; and of the cruel punishment that was inflicted on them, perhaps with too much Severity. The Parliament was no sooner met, but that their Families presented a Petition, begging that they might be brought from the three different Islands, where they were Confin'd, to *London*, where the Parliament was then Sitting ; that they might there Solicite in Person their Liberty, and the Annulling of the Sentence, which, (as they alledg'd) they unjustly lay under. The Petition was as soon Granted, as Presented, and the three Banish'd Persons had Liberty to come and to Justifie themselves, or rather to excite the People's Fury against *Laud*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, and against the Attempts of those two Heads of Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, of the which, they were accus'd of being the Introducers. Thus it was that their Enemies Talk'd.

*Prynn* and *Burton*, left the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and Landed at *Southampton*, and *Bastwick* from *Silly*, Landed at *Dover*. All three continued their Journey by Land, and all three as they Cross'd the Countrey, were receiv'd with the Acclamations of the People. It was a continued Procession all along the Road, and People beholding their Scars with Veneration, Stil'd them *Martyrs*, and their Judges Hangmen. All Places where they pass'd, were strowed with Flowers ; and Joy Echoed from every part for their Deliverance : A Hundred Coaches, Accompany'd the Coaches wherein they made their Triumphant Entry into *London*, and more than Ten Thousand Persons were in their Train. So

Jealous

Anno

1640.



*They are  
look'd on  
as Mar-  
tyrs.*

**Anno 1640.** Jealous were the *English* of their Liberties and Religion, and such were their Acknowledgments, to those whom they Esteem'd the Defenders of them.

*The Union  
of the  
Parlia-  
ment with  
the Scotch*

Another Step of the Parliaments, immediately after their Meeting, let the King see that he had every Thing to Fear, and nothing to Hope for, from their Proceedings. At least, in relation to his two Great Projects, the New Liturgy and Absolute Government; and that was, the two Houses uniting with the *Scotch* Malecontents. Their Accommodation with the King, was only begun by the *Ripon* Treaty, and the Conferences were Adjourn'd to *London*, where the last Hand was to be put thereunto: It is hard to Guess, what the King propos'd by this Adjournment. As for the Malecontents, it is plain, that they expected every Thing from the *English* Parliament, and it is suspected that King Charles's Commissioners and they, had a perfect Understanding one with the other; and that they Improv'd for them, that Favourable Conjunction. The Earl of *Strafford* saw their Design, and did all he could to perswade the King to break off the Negotiation, but he was not believ'd. The Conferences were Adjourn'd to *London*, whilst the Parliament was Sitting, as we have seen already; and they laid hold of that occasion to get Rid of the Earl of *Strafford*, and of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the two Common Enemies of both Kingdoms, as we shall see presently.

*The Earls  
of Rothes  
and Low-  
den at the  
Head of  
the Scotch  
Commissi-  
oners.*

The Earls of *Rothes* and *Lowden*, were at the Head of the *Scotch* Commissioners, as they had been at *Ripon*, and no less was expected from their Zeal and Capacity in this second Deputation, than in the first. They likewise brought with them, their Famous Minister *Henderson*, a Person

Person equally ready at Preaching and Debates ; and having as it were, a double Character, in order to be more serviceable to his Party, He discharg'd his Duty so well, that the Church where he Preach'd, was never empty of English, from Sunday Morning till Night ; and they always came away from his Sermons, fully resolv'd to pull down Laud's Hierarchy, and with it the Arch-bishop and the Earl of Strafford ; speaking always of these two Heads of the Party, as of two *Incendiaries*, and two destroyers of the State and Church. Thus it was, that the Scotch Commissioners Characterised these two Ministers, and they were not afraid of making a publick Declaration of it ; nor to print and publish it, in order to present it to the two Houses, and to obtain their Concurrence in the punishment of two Men, who were so pernicious to the two Kingdoms. The two Houses appointed a Committee to Examine this Affair, and a Resolution pass'd therein, That the Scotch should draw up, and present to the Parliament their Charge against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as they Stil'd the Earl of Strafford. This was done accordingly, and the Scotch were very well assur'd, that they should favourably be heard by the Peers, as well as the Commons, who equally Careß'd them, Stiling them and all the Scotch, Our Brethren of Scotland.

Two Draughts of Charges were then immediately drawn up against them, the one against the Arch-bishop, and the other against the Lord Lieutenant : Containing in Substance, That they had both of them contriv'd the Ruin of the two Kingdoms, by endeavouring to destroy the reform'd Religion and their Liberties ; and that in order thereunto, they had set the two Nations at Variance, and that

Anno  
1640.

  
Hender-  
son's Ve-  
bement  
Preaching

Accusa-  
tions pre-  
sented by  
the Scotch  
against  
Laud and  
Strafford.

The Heads  
of the  
Charges.

**Anno 1640.** that they were the Cause of all the Calamities, that this civil War had brought on the People of the two Kingdoms, united by the Bonds of the same Faith, Living under the same King, speaking the same Language, and Breathing the same Native Air. At the same Time, the Scotch assur'd the English Parliament, that their Army had enter'd England, not to Invade it, but to defend it against the Abettors of Arbitrary Power; and that they would not Quit the Frontiers, till they saw the publick Peace secur'd, and the two Kingdoms out of Danger, by the punishment of the Two Disturbers of their Tranquillity. On this Accusation, the Parliament seeing themselves thus supported by the Scotch Army, resolv'd to bring these two Ministers to Tryal, on whom the whole Government had hitherto Turn'd. I defer speaking of the Proceedings against the Arch-bishop, until I come to his Sentence, which was yet defer'd some Years; and shall only now speak of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's Tryal, who was speedily brought to Sentence and Execution by the Parliament.

*The Lord Strafford's Tryal.*

*He Claims the Privilege of Parliament.*

\* Some say it was Pym himself.

The Commons were his Accusers, and Pym, one of the most Zealous, as well as the most Eloquent of the House, reduc'd the Charge against him into Fourteen Articles, by the which, he made him Guilty (as it was alledg'd) of Felony and High Treason. Hollis, whose Ardor and Capacity was not Inferior to Pym's, carry'd the Bill of Attainder<sup>\*</sup> to the Lords, desiring their Concurrence, and that the Criminal then Sitting amongst them, might be sent to the Tower during the Time of his Tryal. The Lord Lieutenant Claim'd his Priviledge of Parliament, but in Vain; he was Answer'd, That a Traytor had no Priviledge, and all the Favour that his Friends could obtain for him was, that he

he should be taken into the Custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*. But some few Days after, the Lords were oblig'd to send him to Prison, at the Instance of the House of Commons.

About this Time the City of *London* declar'd for *Presbytery*, and one of the Aldermen, *Pennington*, came to the House of Commons with a Petition, Sign'd, as he said, by Twenty Thousand Citizens, praying that *Episcopacy* might be Abolish'd. The Petition was Read, and it was Order'd, that a Bill should be brought in, not to Abolish *Episcopacy*, but to Exclude the Bishops from Session in Parliament. This was a Handle for the Populace, Enemies to *Episcopacy*, to Insult these Prelates in their way to *Westminster*; and this oblig'd the Arch-bishop of *York*, and Eleven Bishops, to shut themselves up in their Houses. But this was not till after that they had made their Protests, that their absenting themselves, was only to avoid the Fury of the Mob; and not to Renounce their Priviledge, which could not be taken from them, being Founded on the most Antient, and most Fundamental Laws of the State, and having Committed nothing that render'd them unworthy of that Priviledge; being Good *Protestants*, Faithful Ministers of the Church of *England*, and Enemies to *Idolatry* and *Popery*. We shall see what was the Sequel of this Bill, after my Lord *Strafford's Tryal*, which for some Time, entirely employ'd both Houses.

It was not until the 22d of *March*, in the Year 1641, that he appear'd before his Peers; the three Months from his Imprisonment to that Time, \* were spent in Forming the Charge against him, and preparing every Thing for his Tryal and Sentence; which was pronounc'd about the latter End of *April*, and he was Executed

Anno  
1640.

*He is sent  
to Prison.  
The City  
of Lon-  
don de-  
clares for  
the Pres-  
byterian  
Party.*

*The Bi-  
shops In-  
sulted.*

1641.  
\* See Lord  
Claren-  
don, Rush-  
worth,  
Mentet,  
F. Orle-  
ans.

Anno  
1641.

W  
The An-  
nals of K.  
Charles I.

A Court  
Erected  
for the  
Tryal.

cuted the 12th of May : So great was the dispatch and precipitation in this Capital Affair, and in the punishment of this formidable Person. The three Kingdoms seem'd equally Interested in the Affair, and each believing that he had oppress'd them, had their Commissioners † amongst his Accusers.

The Court was Erected in *Westminster-Hall*, where the Lord *Arundel* presided, as Lord High Steward at the Head of the Peers, who were Seated in the midst of the Hall as Judges. On each Side, there was Scaffolding of Nine Rows of Seats, for the *Irish* and *Scotch* Commissioners, and for the Committee of the House of Commons, who were the Earl's Accusers. The *Scotch* and *Irish* were Seated on the two Uppermost Rows, and the Committee of the House on the others. There was likewise a Throne for the King in the midst of the Hall, where the Lords Sat, Rais'd above their Court, but the King did not appear there. But nevertheless he was present at all the Sessions, and from a Kind of *Miranda* heard all their Debates. Such as this was the Court, or *Pratorium*, which the Parliament thought proper to Erect, for the Hearing of this Famous Tryal. There were a great many Reasons for the Erecting of it after this manner. *First*, The House of Peers could not contain all the Members of the House of Commons. *Secondly*; The Commons could not appear

† My Lord Clarendon says, that there were a great many Papists amongst them, which is not at all consistent with the Charge against him, nor with the Popish Troops Rais'd by him in Ireland, nor with the Irish Massacre that happen'd soon after, unless it be that the Irish bass all English Governors.

appear in the House of Peers but Bare-headed, and they pretended to appear Cover'd, as they did before the Lord Steward, and the other Peers. *Thirdly*, It had been difficult to have Assign'd Places for the Committees, from *Ireland* and *Scotland*. *Fourthly* and *Lastly*, There was nothing new in it, and the like had formerly been Erected in the like Cases. At first it was propos'd to the House of Peers, to refer the Judgment to the Lords of the Council, but the Commons being unwilling that this Lord should be Taken from the Jurisdiction of the Parliament, made so great a Noife about it, that they prevented that Debate having any Effect.

Anno  
1641.

Further, they prevented the Bishops having any Vote at this Tryal ; The Lords were Judges of the Dispute, and debated it warmly, *Pro* and *Con* ; but the Negative carry'd it ; According to the Antient Canon, which prohibits the Bishop's Interfering in Judicature, where the Criminal is Prosecuted for his Life ; and therefore the Bishops abstain'd from Interfering in this Tryal.

*The Bi-  
shops are  
Excluded  
from the  
Tryal.  
• Clericus  
non debet  
Interesse  
sanguini.*

These Preliminaries Regulated, they proceeded to Tryal ; Men's Minds were so much Heated, and the Lord Lieutenant's Fall so universally desired, that there were fresh Accusations brought against him from *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and all the Counties of *England* ; So that instead of Fourteen Articles Exhibited against him at his first Imprisonment, the Number was doubled, and there were Twenty Eight Articles Exhibited when he came to his Tryal. All related to Violences committed by him whilst he was President of the *North*, and in his Six Years Government of *Ireland* ; and to the Part he acted in the Civil Wars of *Scotland*. Above all, they insisted on that part of his Charge, which

*New Ac-  
cusations  
from Ire-  
land and  
Scotland,  
and from  
some of  
the Coun-  
ties in  
England,  
against the  
Earl of  
Straf-  
ford.*

Stil'd

Anno  
1641.

still'd him an *Incendiary*, that he went into *Scotland* and stay'd so long there, purely to Raise Troops and Money, in order to bring *Ireland* first, and afterwards *Scotland* and *England*, under the Yoke of Arbitrary Power. That he return'd from thence, purely with that design; that he did all he could to break off the Treaty of Pacification; that he had ever been Exciting the King to make himself Absolute, and to obtain that by Force of Arms, which he could never obtain by Mildness, and in a Parliamentary way. To which he had added, *That if the King was pleas'd to make use of those Forces that he had Rais'd in Ireland, he would soon Reduce the Rebels*, that is to say, the Parliamentarians, and subdue the Kingdom that refus'd to obey him, which could not be understood otherwise than of *England* or *Scotland*, and perhaps of both. Thus spake his Accusers.

The Charge was Vigorously pursued, and nothing was neglected to gain Convincing Proofs. The Commons believ'd that they had them, and declar'd the Criminal Guilty of High Treason; Thus acting rather like Judges than Accusers, they in some measure Usurp'd a Power, which belong'd properly to none but to the Lords.<sup>a</sup>

It is said, that Sir Arthur Haslerig was the Person that put the Commons on that Resolution, it being he that drew up the Bill of Attainder, and brought it into the House, who readily receiv'd it. But before we relate the Contents of that Bill, it is necessary to inform the Reader exactly, what those Proofs were, which the Commons accounted so clear and convincing; but did not appear so to the greatest part of the Lords. Let the Reader Judge.

And first, to put this great Cause in it's full Light, I think my self oblig'd to relate in few Words, the manner of the Lord Lieutenant's Accusation

<sup>a</sup> My Lord  
Claren-  
don.

Accusation and Defence, from the 22d of March Anno  
 to the last of April, this Important Tryal last-  
 ed, and the Criminal appear'd almost every Day  
 before the House, being constantly brought by  
 Water, from the Tower to Westminster. The  
 Articles against him were Read in his Hearing, Proceed.  
 and he heard likewise, what some of the Wit-  
 nesses depos'd against him. He made Answer to  
 the Charge, both in Person, and by his Council  
 which was allowed him after three Days debate  
 on that Head. Lane, the Attorney General  
 spoke most, and whatever he said himself, was  
 by his Advice, and the Advice of his three o-<sup>4</sup> Gard-  
 ther Councillors. The Proceeding against Verres ner, Loc,  
 by the Romans, was not unlike to this, the Sici- and  
 lians there appear'd against that Praetor after the Light-  
 same manner, that the Scotch and Irish appear'd  
 here against the Lord Lieutenant; and Pym's  
 Eloquence prevail'd as much against my Lord  
 Strafford, as Cicero's did against Verres. The  
 Earnest Zeal of those two Orators having Con-  
 tributed more to the Condemning of the Crimi-  
 nals, than the Depositions of the Evidence.  
 There was still a further Resemblance between  
 them, Cicero Treated the Praetor with Ignominy;  
 Pym did as much by the Lord Lieutenant, Cal-  
 ling him always the Wicked Earl. On the con-  
 trary, those of the Earls Party, Cry up his In-  
 tegrity, and speak of the Tribunal at Westmin-  
 ster, before which he was Try'd, as of that of  
 Athens, which Sentenc'd Socrates to Death. I  
 don't pretend to draw the Parallels farther, and  
 I leave the Nation to their own Prejudices, for  
 and against the Sentence, or Bill.

Whatever the Earl could say in his Defence,  
 either in Person, or by his Councillors, tho' both  
 He and They spoke very forceably, He  
 could not prevail over the Prejudice of the

**Anno** House of Commons. **Pym**, who was the chief  
**1641.** of them, push'd the Charge against him so Home,  
*Pym's Vene-*  
*hemence*  
*in sup-*  
*porting*  
*the Charge*  
*of the*  
*Commons.* that all *Lanes*'s Arguments, as Strong and Plau-  
sible as they were, made no Impression, and were  
scarce Listen'd to by the House ; and the Bill de-  
claring the Earl Guilty of High Treason, was re-  
solv'd on, and drawn up in Form to be pre-  
sented to the Lords. *Lane* chiefly Insisted on two  
Things ; First, That amongst all the Articles Ex-  
hibited, there was not but that, which depend-  
ed on Secretary *Vane*'s Deposition, which could  
be construed Felony, or High Treason, all the  
others being only Misdemeanors, the punish-  
ment of which is not Capital : And the Second  
Thing that he Insisted on was, that *Vane*'s Evi-  
dence was but single, and consequently could not  
convict him according to Law ; but the Secre-  
tary's Evidence was Back'd by that of his Son,  
together with the Copy which *Pym* had taken  
from the Original Writing, found amongst the  
Father's Papers. This is what we must now Ex-  
amine into.

*An Exam-*  
*nination*  
*of Vane's*  
*Deposition* Sir *Harry Vane*, the Son, said, That the Sum-  
mer before the meeting of the Parliament, his  
Father having sent him the Key of his Cabinet,  
to look for some Papers relating to his Son's  
Marriage, he saw one Paper there, which spoke  
of Affairs of State ; That he had the Curiosity  
to Read it, and the Dexterity to Decypher it,

<sup>3</sup> See Lord  
Claren-  
don, and  
the Annals  
of King  
Charles,  
these Cy-  
phers are  
related in  
10: b.

for it was partly written in Cyphers<sup>3</sup> ; and  
from thence he had Learn'd the Secret Intrigues  
of the Earl of Strafford, with the King and the  
Archbishop of Canterbury : That he remembred  
to have Read these Words, That his Majesty  
needed not trouble himself, about means to reduce  
Scotland ; for in case the Parliament of England,  
refus'd the necessary Subsidies for that End, That the  
Lord Lieutenant was sufficiently provided, to con-  
tinut

tinue the War with Vigour, and had a fine Army in Anno Ireland, ready to come over, and bring the King down under the Toak.

By what Hand soever this Paper was written, it was read in Pym's Presence, who, I don't know by what Fatality, just came to make young Vane a Visit, at the very Time when he was busied about Decyphering this Memorandum. He not only Communicated it to Pym, but suffer'd him likewise to take a Copy of it. This Copy was produc'd, and Vane knew it again to be the same, that Pym had taken in his presence. But the Original was not to be found, having been burnt by the Secretary, who being Ignorant of what had pass'd betwixt his Son and Pym, and believing there might be Danger in the keeping of it, had thrown it into the Fire.

At least it was thus, that the Secretary swore, when this Copy was produc'd to him, Confirm'd by the Secretary's Deposition, both his Son's and Pym's, and thereby giving (as they would have it) the same Authority to the Copy, as if it had been the very Original.

But on the other Hand, what stress could be laid on the Secretary Vane's Deposition, who was my Lord Strafford's declared Enemy, on account of his Peerage of Rabi? And if such an Enmity was sufficient to make his Evidence Null in Law, how could he then confirm his Son's and Pym's Evidence? And besides, this was a Breach of his Fidelity, as Secretary of State, to divulge the Secret, or by Confession, to reveal a Trust, which he thought himself oblig'd to conceal at the Time (as he said himself) that he burnt that dangerous Paper. After this Manner, my Lord Strafford's Friends spake of this Matter.

All Sides were divided about this famous Event: One Side would have it to be a singular

Anno  
1641.

*Different  
Opinions  
about this  
Writing.*

*The Opini-  
on of the  
House of  
Commons.*

*Words of  
the Earl's  
differently  
explain'd.*

Dispensation of Providence, that the Father, without thinking of what would happen, should send his Key to his Son to look for quite different Papers; and that the Son, without any Design but to look for those that related to himself, had discover'd the whole Mystery of the Conspiracy which was laid to destroy both the State and Religion.

On the contrary, the other Party look on this Action as a concerted Juggle between the Father and the Son, to destroy the Lord Lieutenant; altho' the Father, to make the Comedy pass the better, appear'd Irritated against his Son, and the Son beg'd the Parliament to intercede with his Father for him.

The Commons were not of this latter Opinion, the Prejudice which they had taken against this Lord, and being animated by Pym and other Zealots of the Party, this Discovery pass'd amongst them for miraculous: They declar'd Pym's Copy Authentick, on the Evidence of the two Vane's; begg'd the Father to Pardon his Son an Action which Providence had so wonderfully guided; and joining the Writing and Depositions together, they not only allowed it to be sufficient Proof, but even Demonstration of the Criminal's Guilt.

Some Words likewise, imputed to be spoken by him at the Assizes at York, when he was President of the North, were taken as another Proof of his Design to establish Arbitrary Government: The Words alledged were, That the little Finger of the King's Prerogative, was heavier than the whole Body of the Laws; which Words, said they, were spoken with Design to intimidate the Judges, and to oblige them to conform their Judgments to the absolute Will of the Prince, without having any regard to

to the Laws; but he exclaim'd against the Un-  
truth of this Deposition, and maintain'd, That  
they had quite revers'd his Words, in order to  
give them a contrary Sense and Signification  
than was intended by him; for what he had  
said at that Time was, as he remembred, *That  
the little Finger of the Law, if it was not mitigated  
by the Royal Authority, which Moderated its Rigour  
by Clemency, was heavier than the King's Loins.* A  
Language this, vastly different from that laid to  
his Charge by his Enemies.

The Bill of Attainder did not pass unanimously in the House of Commons, for out of Two Hundred, there were Fifty for the Negative'; the Affirmative carried it by the Plurality of Voices, notwithstanding a pathetick Speech made by the Earl of Bristol to prevent it.

At first he was one of the most violent a-  
gainst the Criminal; but whether it was that he  
repented, or that his Design did not reach to  
Blood, or whether he thought the Proofs in-  
sufficient, he now employ'd all his Eloquence to  
save the Earl's Life, but he could not now suc-  
ceed. The Earl of Strafford's Enemies did not  
only condemn him, but they insulted all those  
that were of a contrary Opinion, and would  
have their Names inserted in the Registers of  
the House, with the disgraceful Title of Straf-  
*fordians, or Enemies of their Country:* Their Names,  
with the same Inscription, were posted up in all  
publick Places about London, and their Com-  
plaint to the Parliament of it, as of a Breach of  
Priviledge, was either slighted or eluded.

After this manner the Bill pass'd the House of Commons, but it met with more difficulty when it came up to the Lords. Of Fourscore, who were then in the House, there were scarce Twenty that were for the Bill, says the Author

Anno  
1641.

*The Bill of  
Attain-  
der.  
Rush-  
worth  
says, That  
there were  
204 for  
the Bill,  
and 59 a-  
gainst it.*

*The Earl  
of Bristol  
willing to  
save the  
Lord Lieu-  
tenant.*

*The Bill  
contested  
by the  
Lords.*

Anno  
1641.

~~~~~  
The King
goes to the
House.

His Speech
to save
the Earl.

of the History of the Civil Wars. The King, who every Day us'd all possible Endeavours to save his Favourite, went to the House of Peers to encourage them to reject the Bill, which he said he could never give his Assent to, persuaded as he was of the Earl's Innocence, at least, as to High Treason. He said, That he had heard all the Articles against him, the Witnesses, and all the Proofs that they had produced, and that he had found nothing therein that could make him Guilty ; and therefore, that if the Peers should concur with the Commons in Condemning him to Die, it would still be in vain, since his Honour and Conscience could not suffer him to give his Assent, and without that, the Bill must remain Void ; but he begg'd that they would not reduce him to that Necessity of disapproving it himself, since that might be a Means of drawing on him the ill Will of his Parliament, whom he was willing to satisfy on any other Terms. The King could not give a greater Proof of his Love for the Lord Lieutenant than this ; but it proved not only fruitless, but even hastened his Destruction : My Lord Strafford foresaw that such must be the fatal Consequences of the King's Earnestness for his Safety, and therefore sent his Brother to dissuade him against his Resolution of going to the Lords.

It is reported, That my Lord Say was the occasion of this Step of the King's, either with a good Intention, or else with Design to prejudice the Lieutenant thereby, as it did. The King came to the House of Lords, and having placed himself, he spake to the Lords with all the Energy that could come from the Mouth of a Prince, who spake naturally well, prompted too as he was by his inward Disturbance and Compassion for a dear Subject, whose Life was in danger, and for a Minister who had done nothing but

by

by his own Orders, and consequently had done nothing that to him seemed worthy of Death. Anno
1641.
 He concluded, That if he had committed any Misdemeanours either as President of the North, or in the Government of Ireland, he gave him up to their Justice, and would not hinder them from punishing him, either by Imprisonment, or divesting him of his Employments ; but that all that he requested was, That they would absolve him from High Treason and save his Life.

The greatest part of the Lords were dispos'd to comply with the King's Request, but some were not at all mov'd, neither with the King's Speech, nor with the Expedient of the Punishment propos'd, which only affected the Criminal's Estate and Liberty, but spar'd his Life ; They objected, that this was but an Evasion, and that the King being so earnest to get him out of the Parliaments Power, would no sooner have obtain'd what he demanded, but by his own Royal Authority he would remit his Fine and set him at Liberty.

The Commons made yet a greater Noise about this proceeding of the King's, and alledg'd, That the King had violated the Liberty of Votes, by solliciting the House of Lords. The People of London join'd with the Commons, and coming early in the Morning in Crowds to Westminister, they shouted out for Justice, and threatened to exclude all the Lords from the Parliament House that oppos'd the Bill ; this was what the Mob repeated, when any of the Lords pass'd from the House thro' the Streets ; so that not believing their Persons safe, and to avoid the Insults of the Mob, a great many absented themselves, and from Fourscore they were reduced to Forty Six. It was in this defective Assembly, or to say more properly, in this

*The King
does not
succeed.*

*The Mob
insult the
Lords.*

Anne
1641.

The Bill
passes by a
Majority.

Assembly considerably diminished by the Absence of near half the Lords, that the Bill pass'd by a Majority of Voices; for all the Lords even there present were not for the Bill, but Eleven of them were against it, and believed, that the Proofs were not sufficient to make him Guilty of High Treason; they therefore were for acquitting the Earl.

• Ld Clarendon.
Thus was he Condemn'd: It is said, ³ that besides the Hatred of the Commons, two Things contributed very much to his Destruction; 1. A Plot discover'd against the Parliament. 2. The Death of the Earl of Bedford that happen'd at this Juncture.

A Conspiracy against the Commons discover'd.
Whoever was the Author of this Conspiracy, or whatever was the real Design of it, it was form'd by the King's Army, the Officers of which presented the King a Petition, by which they represented to him, the Danger that his Majesty and the Parliament were exposed to by a seditious Party that design'd to alter both Religion and Government; after this, they offer'd their Services to the King and Parliament, to Revenge them for the past Insults, to warrant them against future ones, and to put them in a Condition to secure the Privileges of the Nation as well as the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the ancient Establishment of the Church of England, against all Innovators and Disturbers of the publick Peace. Thus it was that they stiled the Members of the House of Commons, tho' without naming them, and that under the Pretence of securing the Liberty of Parliament, they made the Parliament dependant upon them, and consequently, said the House of Commons, they brought them under the hardest and basest Slavery, that a free Nation can be threatened with. The King approv'd the Petition, and sign'd

My Lord Clarendon says, That it was only to secure the Army to the King's Service, and not to bring 'em to Lon-
don.

Sign'd it, to the End, that the Deputy from the Army might be Credited at his Return ; and to Encourage the Army to come to *London*, as soon as his Majesty should think fit.

Anno
1641.

*A Form of
Associa-
tion
drawn up
for their
Security.*

It is said, that this Plot had been contriv'd from the first Meeting of the Parliament, but that it had been kept Secret, the Conjunction not being then favourable to put it in Execution, or else entirely neglected from the little Appearance that there was of its Succeeding. At length, the House of Commons were inform'd of it,³ and made a great Noise about it. They attempted to Seize on some Officers that were Raising of Men privately, but they fled into *France*. This Escape of theirs, confirm'd the Suspicions of the Commons, and doubled their Fears, and it occasion'd their using of new Precautions against the Danger. But the Historian³ which I have cited assures us, that the Danger and the Plot of bringing the Army to *London*, were both Imaginary ; or if such a Proposition was made by Colonel *Goring*, that it was rejected by the King. But whether it was so or not, the Commons drew up a Form of an Association to maintain the Protestant Religion, as Establish'd in *England*, against all the Innovations and Usurpations of Popery, and to defend the Power and Privileges of Parliaments, and the Laws and Liberties, with their Lives and Fortunes. This Association included the three Kingdoms in it, all of them engaging and obliging themselves by Oath, to discover all Attempts and Conspiracies against them, and to Contribute all in their Power to punish the Authors, and Favourers of such Pernicious Plots : The Commons nam'd no Body, but it was easie to be discern'd, that my Lord *Strafford* and his Partisans were pointed at amongst these Conspirators that they spoke of.

³ About
the middle
of April.

³ Lord
Claren-
don.

This

Anno
1641.


This Association pass'd unanimously in the House of Commons, but it met with more Difficulty amongst the Lords, who shew'd their aversion for such an Association, which they Stil'd a *League*, and refus'd to give their Approbation and Consent. But nevertheless it was at last carry'd by the Majority, after the Commons had Explain'd themselves about Episcopacy, as Establish'd in *England*, and declar'd, that it was not comprehended in the Innovation and Usurpations of Popery, against which they Form'd this *Association*. But this Explanation did not save the Earl of Strafford, and Pym Represented so strongly to the Commons (tho' without any Grounds, as the King's Historian will have it) the Danger they had been Expos'd to by the Conspiracy I have mention'd, that they would not be Quieted until they had made themselves Secure, at the Expence of the Life of so Formidable an Enemy.

* Francis Russel, he
was suc-
ceeded by
his Son
William.

The Death
of the
Earl of
Bedford.

The Death of the Earl of Bedford compleat-ed his Destruction, for he was thereby depriv'd of the Assistance of that Peer, who, tho' he was a Parliamentarian, yet it was generally believ'd, that his Moderation and Capacity, would have been of great Service to the Lord Lieutenant; and tho' he did not Love him, yet he was against taking away his Life; and was more Inclineable to Mercy than Severity. It is likewise said, that he had concerted Measures with the King to throw the Bill out; But that by his Death, which happen'd some few Days before the King went to the House of Peers, as I have mention'd, the Management was entrust-ed to my Lord Say, who acquitted himself but indifferently, by advising the King to that per-nicious Step.

The two Houses having concur'd in Condemning the Lord Lieutenant, the Royal assent was still wanting, without which, it could not have the Force of a Law, nor be put in Execution. In order to obtain it, both Houses sent a Deputation to the King, not only with that Bill, but with another likewise, for the Continuance of Parliament, desiring his Majesty to consent to both the Bills without Delay. The Populace following the Deputies thro' the Streets, cry'd out *Justice*, and all that the King could do in the present urgency of Affairs was, to defer it from Saturday till Monday. A short Time to Quiet his Trouble, and to determine him to take just Measures in an Affair of so great Importance and Nicety, and which so nearly affected his Breast.

The King would not listen to his own Affliction, nor rely solely on his own Judgment and Conscience. Every Thing told him that the Lord Lieutenant was Innocent, and he could not resolve within himself to Condemn him: Besides every Thing told him, that the Hatred of the Commons against him, proceeded from the Earl's being devoted entirely to his Majesty, and he could not think of Sacrificing so dear a Victim. On the other Side, he saw there was no other Means to Calm the Storm, and that the Lieutenant like *Jonas*, must be thrown into the Sea, to appease the Tempest; That is, he must be deliver'd up to the Justice or Fury of the Nation, if he had a Mind to put an End to the present Troubles and Commotions. In these terrible Combats betwixt Conscience and Affection on the one Side; and Policy, and what he ow'd to the Peace of the Kingdom on the other, he Consulted the two Tribunals, which were the most Competent to decide the Point; ei-

Anno
1641.

*The Par-
liament
press the
King to
give his
Consent
to the
Bill of At-
tainer.*

*The great
difficulty
made by
the King
to Grant
it.*

ther

Anno
1641.

The Opin-
ion of
the Lords
of the
Council,
and the
Bishops
who were
Consulted
thereupon.

Divers
sorts of
Consci-
ences ill
explain'd.

* My Lord
Claren-
don.

ther by their Authority and Knowledge, or by their Uprightness and Impartiality. The two Tribunals I mean, were the Lords of the Council and the Bishops. The first Answer'd, That the publick safety ought to be prefer'd to all other Considerations ; and since that was not to be secur'd, but by the Death of the Earl of Strafford, the King was oblig'd to Sacrifice him. The Bishops, amongst whom was the Famous Bishop Usher, refer'd the matter of Law to the Lords of the Council, who had already given their Judgment ; and as to what concern'd the King's Conscience, there are some that say, that the Prelates refer'd that to the King himself: Contenting themselves with giving their Opinion, which was, that his Majesty ought not to give his assent to the Bill, if he was fully Convinc'd of the Innocence of the Party Accus'd.

Others alledge, that Williams, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, and lately Translated to the Archbischoprick of York, Explain'd to the King divers Sorts of Consciences. That the Conscience of a Father to save his Children, or of a Husband to save his Wife, was one Thing, to which he compar'd the King's Conscience in relation to his Kingdom and his People, whose safety was at present concern'd ; and the Conscience of a Friend, or a Master to save his Servant was another Thing, to which he compar'd the Conscience of a private Person. That the first of those Consciences, which he call'd publick, oblig'd the King, as a King, to do that which he would not do in his private Conscience, as a private Man. A shameful way of Reasoning, and unworthy of a Prelate, and deserving the Censure of the Judicious Author * that relates it. But others assure us, that the Bishop only told the King, that the Earl of Strafford had too much

Love

Love for his Majesty, not to discharge his Conscience ; and the Author of the Collections says no more, than that the King did not give his Consent, till after he had heard the Opinion of his Council, the Bishops being present.

Anno
1641.

It may be that their Decision, or Advice, would not have determin'd the King neither, if the Earl of Strafford himself had not determin'd him, by Sacrificing himself Voluntarily with an Heroick Greatness of Soul, to the publick Tranquillity, or to the Tranquillity of his Master ; Making a Reparation by this Magnanimity for the Crimes he stood Accus'd of, even if he were Guilty of them.

The Earl being made acquainted with the Deputation of the two Houses for the King's Consent, and of the Perplexity the King was in, he wrote him this short Letter, which Honours the Writer much more than it Excuses the King's Weakness, if he really believ'd his Favourite not Guilty, as he protested more than once ; and declar'd Solemnly in his Reflections^{*} on the Death of so dear a Minister, who Sacrific'd himself for him with an Heroick Bravery.

*A gene-
rous re-
solve of
the Earl
of Straf-
ford.*

I have been inform'd of the Perplexity your Majesty is in, on the account of the Bill which Sentences me to dye, and that your Majesty's Conscience, prevents your giving your Consent thereninto : But to take away all manner of Scruple from your Majesty thereupon, I declare unto you, that I devote my self unto Death, since the Troubles of your Kingdom cannot be appeased, but at that Price, and I discharge your Majesty before God and Man.

*See these
Reflections
in Rush-
worth.
The Earls
Letter.*

The King having Read the Letter, and admir'd the Greatness of Soul of the Person that wrote it, Sign'd the Sentence, being the only Clue, as he thought, which could Extricate him out

*The King
gives his
Consent.*

Anno
1641.

out of the Labyrinth, into which his unlucky Star had lead him. Happy, if it's Influence had stopt there; but as we shall see hereafter, it Cost him his own Life in the Sequel. He gave his Consent to the two Bills on Monday the 10th Day of May, as he had promis'd; by Expediting Commission to the Earl of Arundel, and some other Lords, with Power to them to give his Consent to the Bill for Condemning the Earl of Strafford, and that for the Continuation, or rather the perpetuity of the Parliament; by which the King depriv'd himself of the Power of dissolving the Parliament, without the Consent of both Houses. But all this did not Quiet the King; on the contrary, he was more disturb'd than ever, and adding to his Grief, for the Death of a Man who was so dear to him, the Remorse of his Consenting thereunto, his Affliction doubled, and in the Bitterness of his Heart, he wrote to the Lords in Terms, which discover'd the Greatness of his Trouble, and of his Repentance. He said, That his Consent to the Bill was forc'd from him, But was there no Remedy left? And could not this Cruel Death be chang'd into a perpetual Imprisonment? Do it, I Conjure you, my Lords, if it be possible. If my People cannot be satisfy'd at no other Price but that of his Life, let them be satisfy'd. He likewise wrote these Words by way of Postscript, If he must Dye, let it be defer'd till Saturday at least. But he obtain'd neither, the Sentence was not alter'd, and the Execution was on the 12th of May.

The Affliction he is in to save him.

He can obtain nothing in his Favour

The Scaffold was Built on Tower-Hill, the Earl of Strafford appear'd there with the Constancy of a Man that was not afraid of Death, and less like a Criminal Condemn'd, than like a Heroe devoting himself to Death for the Safety of his King

King and Countrey : The Speech which he made
to the People, was equally Suited to his Glory, Anno
and to his Misfortune ; short, as it ought to be
from a Man that was going to Dye, Lively and
Bold, like an Intrepid Person that is not afraid
of Death. *People of England, said he, who have*
so Earnestly sollicited my Death, I come here to un-
dergo your Haire and the Parliament's Sentence :

Anno
1641.

The Earl
of Straf-
ford's
Speech on
the Scaf-
fold.

May your Division and Wars, which Zeal for
Religion has Excited, be now extinguisht by my
Blood, I heartily forgive those that shed it. But I
can foresee nothing but Evil, from such a Reforma-
tion as this, which begins with so Tragical an Exe-
cution ; and I fear that the Success won't be as I
would have it, nor as you Hope. Whatever Opinion
you have of me, I protest that I Dye a good Pro-
testant, a good Countryman, and a good Subject, faith-
ful to the Church of England, to my Countrey, and
to my King ; from whom I take my Leave, wishing
them more happy, and more peaceable Times. And
afterwards Turning to the Bishop of Armagh,
who assisted him in his Devotions, he begg'd of
him to Administer his Spiritual Consolations to
him to the End ; and then Turning to the Peo-
ple, he Conjur'd them to join with him in
Prayer. He pray'd with an admirable Compo-
sure of Mind, concluded with the Lord's Prayer,
and begg'd of JESUS CHRIST, on whose Me-
rits alone he confideth, to receive his Spirit. Then
he quitted his Cloak and Doublet, and adjusting
his Neck to the Block, he ask'd if it was well,
and the Executioner having Answer'd Yes : He
gave the Signal with his Hand to Strike, and his
Head was in an Instant separated from his Body,
at one Stroke only, and shewn to the People, His Death.
who could not but admire his Constancy and
Courage, tho' they deny'd him their Tears at
his Death.

How he
prepar'd
himself
for Death.

Thus

Anno Thus Sentenc'd, and thus Dy'd *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of so Antient a Family, that they had been Knights for near Six Hundred Years, and he was Honour'd with the Earldom of Cleaveland, before that of Strafford. Thus Dy'd this Peer of the Realm, who for his Courage, Capacity, and an Infinite Number of Fine Qualities, was worthy of a better Fate. He had been yet more worthy, if he had been less Haughty, and if his Zeal for the King had been better Regulated, and less Fatal to his Prince, as well as to himself; sincere, and without reserve in his Friendship and Hatred, equally Eager in good Offices and Revenge; So that what the Famous Author says of *Sylla* the Dictator, is applicable to him: That he was equally Renown'd for his Benefits to his Friends, and his Cruelties to his Enemies: It is further to be observ'd, that his Ruin came from two Quarters that he despis'd the most, The People and Sir *Harry Vane*; so true it is, that no Enemies are despicable, and that Great Men ought to be upon their Guard, and not to draw on themselves the Hatred of their Inferiors.

* Plutarch After all, there was Passion in the Proceedings against the Earl, and the Commons Prosecuted him with too much Violence. Therefore after the Restoration of King *Charles the Second*, the Parliament having Review'd the whole Proceedings, Voted them unlawful, Annull'd the Sentence, purg'd and restor'd the Memory of the Earl of Strafford, and order'd the Bill of Attainder to be Torn out of the publick Registers.

An Act for reversing the Earl of Strafford's Attainder.

I shall now relate some considerable Events, which happen'd during the Time of the Earl of Strafford's Tryal, which I purposely omitted, not to Interrupt the Narrative of the whole Proceedings against him.

The

The most Famous, is the Triennial Act : The House of Commons first brought in the Bill, the Lords approuv'd it; and the King, to the Great Astonishment of the Courtiers, and the best Politicians, gave his Consent thereunto. Nothing could be done that was more acceptable to the Parliament, for the Parliament were by it in a great measure Masters of the Government : Having it in their Power to assemble themselves, in case the King neglected to Call them. Conseq-⁴ My Lord
sequently nothing could be done, that was more prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, which he had carry'd to so great a Height during the first Years of his Reign, by repeating Claren-
so often, That it belong'd to none but to himself, to assemble, to prorogue, and to dissolve Parliaments at his Pleasure, without being oblig'd to give an account to any why he did so. But nevertheless it is certain, that the Institution of Triennial Parlia-
ments was not a new Thing ; and that King Edward the Third had authoris'd them ; but there is a vast difference betwixt a King Victorious and Ador'd by his People, who could run no Hazard in Grafting them than Priviledge ; and a weak and suspected, if not a Hated Prince, who had Reason to be apprehensive of every Thing from a diffident and discontented Nation. These Considerations however, had no weight with the King ; he said he was resolv'd to Gain the Hearts of his Subjects at any Price, and that he was perswaded that no Method was more certain, to Establish their Subjection and his Authority, than by a reciprocal Union, which never appear'd more Conspicuous, than in the frequent Calling of Parliaments. This kind of Reasoning was Just, but then Care ought to have been taken, that those Assemblies should have no Cause of Murmurs and Complaints,

Anno
1641.
*The Trien-
nial Bill.*

*His M
id given
-all of us
selves
The King
gives his
Consent
thereunto.
My Lord
don calls
it perpe-
tual, be-
cause it
could not
be dissolv'd
but by an
Act of the
same Par-
liament.*

Anno
1641.

*A Bill
brought
in to Ex-
clude the
Bishops
from Par-
liament.*

*The Cler-
gy and the
Nobility.*

*Rejected
by the
Lords.*

*A Bill to
suppress
The Presi-
dents
Court in
the North*

plaints, which might Irritate them against the King, and against both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government, which they were now resolv'd to Reform, and the King obstinately resolv'd not to Alter.

This design of Reforming; made a great Noise in the House of Commons, and appear'd particularly in the Bill brought in to Exclude the Bishops from Parliament. This seem'd to be an Infringement of the Privileges of the House of Lords, as some of them represented it, when the Bill was brought up for their Concurrence. The Peers were Astonish'd, that the Commons should pretend to Reform their House, and alledg'd, that after their demanding the Exclusion of the Bishops, they might have the Rashness to proceed farther, and to demand the Exclusion of the Barons: And thus the Commons would make nothing but a Mutilated House of the House of Lords, which represented the two first Estates ^{*} of the Kingdom, the Commons only representing the last. And the House of Peers would thereby become despicable, serving only as a shadow to the House of Commons, who would Exercise all the Authority. These Reasons appear'd so strong, that they prevail'd over all that could be alledg'd on account of the publick Weal, and the Complaisance that was due to Scotland, the Enemy of Episcopacy, which were the Pretexts for the Bill of Exclusion: And after some slight Debates, the Bill was unanimously rejected by the Lords.

But it was not so with the Bill concerning the Abolition of the Court of York, or the Presidency of the North. The Commons Irritated at the Violences and Oppressions committed by the Earl of Strafford, whilst he was in that Post, brought in a Bill to have it Abolish'd. Henry the

the Eighth set it up to suppress the Commotions of the Northern Counties, or Frontiers on Scotland; but the Authority of this new Court was Modell'd by him, by wise Regulations. Some Changes were made in it under Queen Elizabeth, and the Power of the Commission was Enlarg'd. It Encreas'd under King James the First, and became unlimitted under King Charles the First, by the Haughtiness of the Earl of Strafford, and his Ascendant over the King. The Commons represented his Oppressions, and the Lords were convinc'd of them, and of the Equity of the Bill to Extinguish so dangerous a Commission, and therefore Concurr'd with them to suppress it.

For the same Reasons the Star-Chamber was Abolish'd; this was done the Year before, and the English Historian observes, that the Exorbitant Power which that Court had taken upon it, render'd it Formidable. It was Reviv'd, rather than Instituted by Henry the Seventh, for its Original was of a much Antienter Date. But it was never so formidable as under King Charles the First, and the Rise of its Authority, was the Cause of its Fall.

The High Commission Court, which was still more odious than the other, had been suppress'd ever since the Year 1638, as I have already taken Notice.

In the midst of all these Troubles; publick Rejoycings were made for the Marriage of the Princess Mary of England with the Prince of Orange. The King had acquainted the Parliament how the Prince sollicited the Match, who express'd their Joy on that occasion, but still continued their Pursuits; and dispatch'd the Triennial Bill, which I have mention'd, and presented it to the King on the 16th of February:

Anno
1641.

*My Lord
Clarens-
don.*

*The Star
Chamber
abolished.*

*The Mar-
riage of
the Prin-
cess with
the Prince
of Orange
William
the 2d.*

Anno
1641.

The Liberality of the Commons to the Scotch Army.
In December 1640, besides the 50000 l. before.

The State of England.

The Princess her Marriage was on the 2d of May, and was celebrated with greater Magnificence than suited with the present Calamities of the Court, being in the Interval between the Lord Strafford's Sentence and Execution: But the Princess, who was not then but Twelve Years old, did not go over into Holland till the next Year.

I shall not speak here of one Hundred Thousand Pounds granted by the Commons to the Scotch Army, which they borrow'd of the City of London, because I shall have occasion to speak of a larger Sum given to that Army, and of the Motives that induc'd the Commons to be so liberal.

I return to the Sequel of Affairs, from the Death of the Earl of Strafford. One would think that his Death ought to have put an end to the Troubles, but it only encreas'd them; each Party alledge different Reasons for their encrease: The Parliamentarians alledge, That the King still persever'd in his Design to oppress them: The Royalists, on the other Hand, impute it to the other Party, That they obstinately persisted in their Design to destroy Episcopacy and Monarchy; I shall, without Partiality, relate what was done on both sides, and shall leave the Reader at Liberty to judge.

The Death of the Earl of Strafford, and the Imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, remov'd from the Commons the two most terrible Objects of their Hatred and Resentment, and at the same time, it remov'd from the King the Persons in whom he confid'd the most, and on whose Zeal and Capacity he repos'd the whole Care of the State. Thus these Jonsas's could not appease the Storms; which still continuing, the King was like a Ship without Rudder or Anchor,

chor, in the midst of Rocks and Shelves, on which he continually struck, and was Wreck'd miserably at last.

Anno
1641.

This unfortunate Prince, amongst the many Misfortunes of his Reign, had this particular one, That he almost always made a wrong choice of those Ministers in whom he confid'd the most ; engaged by some in the Design of Arbitrary Rule, and abandon'd by the others in the Execution of that Design, which occasion'd his Destruction. When my Lord Strafford was Absent in Ireland, he gave the Command of the Army to the Earl of Northumberland ; and after the Death of the former, dissatisfied with the latter, he gave that Post to the Earl of Holland ; in reality, he had no great Reason to be satisfied with either of these Peers. My Lord Northumberland is accus'd of having been brought over by Pym, and that he (to save his Son, the Lord Peircey, who was one of the Officers of the Army that were Leagued against the Parliament) was wanting in his Fidelity and Gratitude to his King and Benefactor. Indeed, we shall see him by and by in the Parliament's Interests, in which he continued until the King's Imprisonment ; but he would have no Hand in his Sentence, but look'd on it with the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation. As to my Lord Holland, he refus'd to follow the King in 1642, who Commanded him to Quit the Parliament, and to Accompany him in his Progress. For this, some Authors³ : Lord Stile him Ungrateful and False ; but his Return Claten- to the King's Party, ⁴ and the Death he suffer'd don. the next Year for his Zeal for the Royal Fa- mily, make an entire Reparation for his past Faults.

The King makes a wrong Choice of his Ministers and Generals.

Character of my Lord Northumberland.

Of my Lord Hol- land.

In the Year 1643.

Anno
1641.

Of the
Earl of
Essex and
my Lord
Say.

False
Steps of
the King.

Subsidies
for the
Scotch
Army.

The King thought that by his Benefits, he might bring over to his Side, the Earl of *Essex* and my Lord *Say*; Giving the Earl the Lord Chamberlain's Staff (which he had taken away from the Earl of *Pembroke*, for breaking his Promise Given of his Vote in the Earl of *Strafford's* Favour) and making the Lord *Say* Groom of the Stole, which was Vacant by *Cottington's* Resignation. But his Favours were ill plac'd, or else they were too much limited, and perhaps both. They were ill plac'd, for both of them were strong Parliamentarians, and the first soon after was made General of their Army. They were too much limitted, for if the King had given the Command of his Army to the Earl of *Essex*, instead of giving it to my Lord of *Holland*, he had brought him intirely over into his Interests, and by Gaining a good General to himself, he had depriv'd the Parliament of one. Both however, bore a great deal of Respect for the King's Person: My Lord of *Essex* some Years after laid down his Generalship, and was suspected of designing to go over to the King; and my Lord *Say* imitating the Earl of *Northumberland*, like him abstain'd from having any Hand in his Sovereign's Blood; for both refus'd to be Members of the detested Tribunal that Condemn'd him.

The first Thing that pass'd in the Session of Parliament, after the Earl of *Strafford's* Death, was the Subsidy Bill, by which Three Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling were Granted to pay the Army of *Scotland*. People were Astonish'd at this Liberality, and it was no longer doubted, that the Parliament design'd to Buy those Troops, and make use of them against the Army that had laid the Conspiracy that I have mention'd. In Reality, they were not at all dissatisfy'd, that they

they should continue on Foot; altho' this Money was only for the past pay that was due, and given on Condition, that they should Disband as soon as the Money was receiv'd; but that was not done, till August or September following. Then they Disarm'd on both Sides; but the Scotch Army did not Quit the Frontiers of England to return Home, until the English Army was at the same time Disbanded.

Besides these two Armies, there was a third in Ireland Rais'd by the Earl of Strafford, and Commanded by the Marquis of Ormond, which the King likewise thought fit to Disband. Nevertheless, his design was to do it in such a manner, that they might be serviceable on occasion. To that End it was, that he listen'd to the Proposals made him, by *Don Alonzo De Cardenau*, the Spanish Ambassador, who desir'd that Four Thousand Men might be taken into the Service of his Catholick Majesty, and be Transported to Flanders: But the Emissaries of France, frighten the Commons, and Encreas'd their diffidence of the King, by Insinuating to them, that this Negociation with *Cardenau*, was no other than a pretence, which the King and he had concerted together; in order to continue the Troops on Foot, and Employ them against the Parliament. One of the Historians, that speaks after this manner, adds, that it was reported, that *Pym* receiv'd Five Thousand Pounds Sterling from France, for Insinuating these Suspicions in the House of Commons, to prevent the Transporting of these Troops; But the Character of *Pym*, renders this report highly Improbable. It is certain, (as the same Judicious Author observes) that he could do nothing more prejudicial to *Ireland* and *England*; and that if these Four Thousand Men, being all Pa-

Anno
1641.

France
occasions
the diffi-
dence
which the
Commons
have of
the King.

Lord
*Claren-
don.*

Anno 1641. *pists*, had been sent into Flanders as the King design'd, but durst not put it in Execution, for fear of irritating the Commons; the Irish being destitute of that Succour, had not dared to have undertaken the terrible Massacre, which they Executed some little time after.

The King's Progress.

There is a great deal of probability, that the King did not foresee this Massacre, much less approve of it; and that his Thoughts were wholly bent how to Calm the Troubles of the Kingdom, and afterwards to dissolve the Parliament, and put an end to the Importunate Bills of the Commons. He was so tir'd with them, that according to some Authors, it was purely to be deliver'd from their Importunity, that he undertook his Voyage or Progress to Scotland, hoping that he might find their Minds quiet and reasonable at his Return. This Opinion, which he had no other Grounds for, but his being willing to believe it, made him so impatient for his departure, that to surmount the Difficulties which the Commons oppos'd to his Journey, he Granted them a Demand, which soon afterwards furnish'd them with a General to Command their Army.

A Custom of leaving a Lieutenant in England, when the King leaves the Kingdom.

It had been formerly the Custom, that whenever the Kings of England went out of the Realm on any Important Expedition, they appointed a sort of Viceroy, or Guardian of the Kingdom, to Exercise their Authority in their Absence. But this was only practis'd in Cases of long Voyages; and particularly when they went beyond Seas, to War against France; but a Journey to Scotland, was not of the same Nature; Especially since the Union of the two Kingdoms, under one and the same King, and could not properly be call'd any Thing but a Progress.

Progress: However, the Commons desir'd that the King would Substitute some one in his Absence, on whose Care and Vigilance the Parliament might depend, and whose Authority might secure the Tranquillity of the Realm. They even propos'd the Earl of Essex for that Employment, with the Title of Lieutenant General of the Northern Counties, Frontiers of Scotland; and the King gave him the Commission.

Anno

1641.

Lord*The Earl**is appoint-**ed with**the Title**of Lieute-**nant on**this side**Trent.*

The Parliament, who had now struck all the great Strokes they design'd, were apprehensive of nothing during the King's Absence, and thought of giving themselves some Respit after their long and painful Session; and most of the Peers and Commons were glad to Return into their Countys, there to receive the Applause of the People, for the Vigorous Opposition they had made against Episcopacy and Arbitrary Government.

But however, the Session was not Ended, and the Parliament still continued Sitting with this Difference, that the Members of both Houses that remain'd, *Viz.* Twenty in the House of Peers, and One Hundred in the House of Commons, were only a Deputation, and Stil'd a Committee. But nevertheless, the Resolutions of that Committee were to be of equal Force, as if taken in Full Parliament. This my Lord Clarendon says, was a new and unprecedented Institution. Pursuant to this Regulation, all those Members of the two Houses that had Business in their Countreys, or were desirous to Enjoy the Sweets of Retirement, left London about the latter End of August, being a little after the King's departure for Scotland.

*The Ses-
sion conti-
nues by a
Committee
appointed.*

* *They are
represen-
ted by
Four Peers
and Six
Common-
ers.*

This Committee only lasted till the 19th of September, * and then the two Houses which they Represented, Adjourn'd to the 20th of October, for

Anno 1641. for the King's Return ; but this second separation was not (no more than the first) without some Image of Authority : That is, Four Peers and Six Commoners were left to represent the Assembly, and were Invested with the Sovereign Authority ; The Earl of *Essex* was at the Head of the Peers, and *Pym* of the Commons, this latter taking on himself the Ais, or Head of a Party, if you'll believe the Zealots for Episcopacy, Sign'd the Declarations, which the Committee caus'd to be Printed ; but could not be put in Execution, because the Peers refus'd their Concurrence. But *Pym*, notwithstanding that this Essential Solemnity to the Acts was wanting ; Sign'd them himself to make them of Validity, and order'd them to be Read and Executed in all the Churches. This was sufficient to Authorize the Violences of the *Londoners*. Every Thing that *Laud* had alter'd in the New Liturgy, was Reform'd, and the Antient Practise Establish'd, as the Committee had order'd by their Declarations. They proceeded farther, and remov'd the Communion Table, which from Queen Elizabeth's Time had been plac'd at the upper End of the Choir, and pull'd down the Distinction of the Choir, which seem'd too Superstitious to the *Presbyterians*. They suppress'd likewise the bending of the Knee, or bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, and forbid the Practise of it, as an Abuse deriv'd from Popery. The People by their Readiness and Obedience to this Article, and to all the others, plainly shew'd that they gave their full Consent thereunto, and the King might see at his Return, that it was to no purpose for him to insist on the new Ceremonial.

Pym's Boldness.

Laud's Liturgy Suppreſſ'd.

A great many Ceremonials Abolish'd.

It was less lik'd in *Scotland* than in *England*, having been always the Aversion of that People; and if the King undertook his Journey into that Kingdom, in Hopes to obtain some Moderation, or Accommodation on that Point, he was very much Mistaken, if he was not so in the design he had to restore the publick Peace of the Realm, and to confirm the Treaty of Pacification. At least, this was all the Fruit he Reap'd from his Journey; the Estates Ratify'd the Treaty, but their famous Covenant was reviv'd immediately after, and Episcopacy again Abrogated. They even Prosecuted the Earl of *Tracquair*, the Bishop of *Ross*, *Montrose*, and some others of the Episcopal Party; and they did not give them up to the King, but as so many Criminals, whose Lives they spar'd on his account: Thus this Expedition, if we may give that Name to the King's Progress into *Scotland*, turn'd more to his Prejudice than Honour: He did not only Subscribe the Ordinance that Abolish'd Episcopacy, and Confiscated the Episcopal Revenues; but he even gave those Revenues to those very Persons, who had been the most Sollicitous for the Proscription of the Bishops, and with those Revenues, says an Author,³ he gave all *Scotland* to his Enemies; and conferr'd the Principal Dignities, on the Principal Leaders of the Rebellion. The Earl of *Lowden* was made Chancellor, the Earl of *Argyle* a Marquis; General *Lesley* Earl of *Leven*, and his Lieutenant Earl of *Calendar*.

A Quarrel that happen'd between the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, * during the

Anno
1641.

*The King's
Progress
into Scot-
land, does
not sup-
press the
Covenant.*

³ *My Lord
Claren-
don.*

* *My Lord Clarendon says, that they were already re-
concil'd, and that by Concert, they had retir'd from Edin-
burgh on a false Report, that they were to be assassinated.*

Anno
1641.

the Session of the States, had like to have set not only all *Scotland*, but likewise all *England* in a Flame : They reciprocally accus'd each other of Treason, and put both Nations on their Guard. But this Commotion was soon quieted, and the King to satisfie the Ambition of both, rais'd one to the Dignity of Duke, and the other to that of Marquis, and by that Means appeas'd the Storm, and reconcil'd them, but he did not make them more faithful. At least, it may be laid so of one of them; as for the other, most Historians Judge more favourably of him. In 1644, he was put into Prison by the King, but he afterwards dy'd for serving him against the Parliament, who condemn'd him to lose his Head *.

* In 1649.

1641.

The Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland.

The King was preparing to Return, when he receiv'd the terrible News of the *Irish Massacre*, which had alarm'd *England* as much as *Scotland*. This Massacre was Executed about the latter end of October, and never was such a Hideous one seen, either as to the Number of those that perish'd, or the Variety of the Cruelties Inflicted : But tho' the Execution of this Barbarity is prodigious, yet it is less surprizing than the Miraculous manner by which the Capital was sav'd ; and which afterwards gave the English an opportunity to Repair this great Loss, and to continue to Establish their Dominion and Religion : Both which, the Original Irish had Conspir'd to Extirpate by a general Massacre, and not to spare even Women, or Children. My design is not to give an exact Relation of this Bloody Tragedy, it being to be found in an Infinite Number of Authors, but I shall only relate the Principal Circumstances : I shall begin with the Discovery, which only happen'd in the Evening before, and prov'd too late for to save some

some Thousands of Persons, that were Butcher'd before they could have any Succour ; and but just time enough to save *Dublin*, and with that Capital, all those that could take Refuge there ; and to secure a Place of Arms to *England*, into which they might throw Forces, and from thence Revenge so much Blood so Inhumanly spilt.

The Conspiracy was General, but it had been concerted with so much Secrecy, that it was not discover'd till the very Time that they were going to put it in Execution ; and that too was made by one of the Accomplices, or at least, one that was taken to be so, by the Conspirators themselves. This was one *O'Connelly*, a Native *Irishman*, but a Protestant, and one over whom Religion and Piety had a much greater Influence, than all Regards for his Furious Countrymen. Mr. *Mahon*, a Grandson of the Famous Earl of *Tyrone's*, so much spoken of in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was one of the Principal Chiefs of the Conspiracy, and it was he that Reveal'd it to *O'Connelly*, the very Eyening before it was to be put in Execution. *O'Connelly* pretended to approve of it, to avoid the Danger that he would have been Expos'd to, had he refus'd to be Consenting ; but he detested the Design, and that very Night, getting out from Mr. *Mahon's* Lodgings, he went immediately to Lord Justice *Pansans*, and gave him an account of the Plot, and of the great Peril that *Dublin* and all *Ireland* was in : A great Number of the Conspirators were already in *Dublin*, and their Design was to Seize on the Castle, where they would have found Arms and Provision sufficient to maintain the War against the *English*, and to strengthen themselves in their Rebellion ; but Providence would not suffer it.

As soon as the
Lord

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1641.

et in hoc
et hoc
habet

*How the
Plot was
discover'd.*

Anno
1641.

*What the
Lord Ju-
stice did.*

Sydney.

*A Descri-
ption of
the Massa-
cre in
other Parts
of the
Kingdom.*

Lord Justice was inform'd of the Plot, he immediately Summon'd the Council, notwithstanding the unseasonable Time of Night; and after mature Deliberation, sent to Seize on *Mac Mahon* and *Mac Guire*, the two Principal Chiefs, with three or four of their Accomplices. The rest had time to get off before the Council could send to the Houses where they were Conceal'd, and made their Escape the same Night. These carry'd the News to the rest of their Party, who were already in Arms, and were more animated to Excite their barbarous Resolution. The Council of *Ireland*, dispatch'd immediately Messengers and Letters to acquaint the King then at *Edinborough*, and the Parliament then Sitting at *Westminster*, with the Discovery. *O Connelly* was himself the Bearer of the Letters, written by the Council, not directly to the Parliament, but to the Earl of *Leicester*, who succeeded my Lord *Strafford* in the Government of *Ireland*; and was at that Time in the Parliament Sitting at *Westminster*. But before we look into the Commotions that this terrible News Excited in Men's Minds, both in the Court and Parliament, let us see with what Fury the Conspirators Executed the Horrid Massacre which they had projected.

They Miscalcurred in their Design on *Dublin*, as I have related; but this only enraged them the more, and instead of altering their Resolution, or deferring it to another opportunity, they immediately appear'd in Arms in all Parts of the Kingdom, and put all to Fire and Sword. These Cruelties began on the 23d of *October*, the Fatal Day agreed on by the Heads of this Bloody Catastrophe, and lasted for two Months with unexampled barbarity, Cutting of Throats, or Stabbing was the mildest Treatment; some had their Eyes

Eyes pluck'd out, and were several Days dying in the most Exquisite Torments ; some were Drown'd, and others Burnt, forcing them to carry the Straw themselves for the Fire ; some perish'd by Cold, others by Hunger, and others by Thirst, and some were Bury'd alive. Mothers were Hang'd on the Gallows, and their Children about their Necks, so that in dying together, their punishment might be the Greater, thro' the Torturing Reflection of the Pain which they gave each other. There was no regard had to Women great with Child, or Children at the Breast : And by an Excess of Cruelty, which makes Nature shrink, one of these miserable Creatures being deliver'd whilst she was under the Hands of her Executioners ; they gave the Child to be Eaten by a Dog and a Hog, which they brought thither to satiate their Cruelty, and feed their Eyes with the Pleasure of so detestable a Sight. These Devils carry'd their Inhumanity yet farther, and in some Places oblig'd Fathers and Mothers to Kill their own Children, and Children their Parents ; Wives their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives. In this Massacre which reach'd from one end of Ireland to the other, Two Hundred Thousand Persons perish'd, according to some Authors. But those who diminish the Number the most, make them amount to One Hundred and Fifty Four Thousand.

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We

¹ See Sir William Temple's Account of the Massacre.
² See Clark, the perfect Politician. ³ My Lord Clarendon, Rushworth. ⁴ A Letter written to Mr. Forrester, Doctor of the Sorbone. ⁵ The Extract of the Registers of Ireland.

Anno
1641.

Clark.

We must not omit what one of these Authors relates, as a certain and uncontestable Fact; and that is, that the Blood of those innocent Victims, had chang'd the Colour of a River, and stain'd the Stones so, that the Blood could not be got out. He assures us farther, that the Murderers for several Days, fancy'd they saw the Persons they had Massacred, and heard them crying out for Vengeance against their Murderers. Such as these, were the Apparitions which *Charles the Ninth of France* saw, after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; and these Facts cannot be doubted, whether the Apparitions were real, or only proceeded from the Terrors of an Imagination, Heated with the Horror of the Crime, or from the Troubles of a disturb'd Conscience.

Dublin put a stop to the Fury of the Assassins, who durst not lay Siege to it; and this City contain'd the sad Remains of the English Colonies, and of the Empire of England, which afterwards Reveng'd the innocent Blood, and Re-establish'd her Authority. But it was under another Government, and not King *Charles's*; for he was too much Embarrass'd with his own Affairs, to take heed to those of other People; or perhaps he was too much suspected by the Commons of England, to be Entrusted with Arms, which they were apprehensive might be turn'd against themselves; suspecting him to have wink'd at the Irish Massacre, if he did not Authorize it, as we shall see presently, in relating the Commotions which the News of this terrible Event excited in the Parliament.

The Earl of Leicester having receiv'd the Council of Ireland's Letters, carry'd them to the House of Commons, because the Lords were not sitting. It is difficult to Express the Impression that

The Impression
that this
News made
on the Par-
liament.

that the reading of the Letters, and the account of the Plot of the Irish Papists, made on the Minds of the Members of the House. Astonishment, Indignation and Revenge, were the first Motions of their Breasts, and these were follow'd by diffidence and surprize; and this Medley of Sentiments kept them in a dead Silence, which shew'd their Fears and Suspicions, as well as their Courage and Resentment. As soon as ever the Earl of Leicester withdrew, they began to Explain themselves, and spoke of the Irish Massacre, as a Conspiracy of the Papists, not only of that Kingdom, but of England; Excited by the Pope's Nuncio, and Cardinal Richlieu's Agents, and Supported by the Arminians: That is to say, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford, during the Life of the one, and the Liberty of the other, and by their Party, since the Earl's Death, and the Archbishop's Imprisonment. They added, that all these Enemies of the Protestant Religion, were Supported and Encourag'd by the Queen, who openly Protected them; and Indirectly by the King, who had too much Complaisance for the Queen on that Point, which was but too Apparent in my Lord Strafford's Government of Ireland; during which Time, it could not be doubted, the Plot was concert-ed, which since his Death was put in Execu-tion. Their Suspicions went farther, and they were apprehensive, that the Conspiracy was form'd against the three Kingdoms, and that from Ireland, they design'd to have proceeded to Scotland, and to England. It was to that End, said they, that the Earl of Strafford's Levies were design'd, as likewise the Provisions and Ammunition that were found in the Castle of

Anno
1641.

To whom
and what
the Massa-
cre is Im-
puted.

The Com-
mons are
apprehen-
sive of the
like Mis-
sacre in
England.

* Rossetti,
but he was
only Car-
dinal Bar-
barini's
Agent.

^a My Ld.
Claren-
don.

Dublin, sufficient to Arm and Maintain Ten Thousand Men. After this, they deliberated on the most ready and certain Methods to secure Great-Britain from the Tragedy of Ireland: The first Thing propos'd, was the Exclusion of the Bishops, which they continually Harp'd on, being perswaded that Episcopacy was the source of all their Misfortunes; and that the Votes of the Bishops, join'd to some of the Lord's Temporal, was the occasion of the throwing out of the Bills sent up by the Commons, that related to the Liberties of the Nation, and the safety of the true Religion. The second Expedient was still more Bold: They resolv'd to draw up a Manifesto by way of Remonstrance, and Address to the King, in which they laid out all the Evils and Troubles that had happen'd since the beginning of his Reign, proceeded from Arbitrary Government, and Episcopal Tyranny, as they express'd it; and from the Toleration allow'd the Papists by the Court, who were Protected by the Queen, that had receiv'd a *Nuncio* ^b from the Pope. These were the three Sources, to which the Irish Catastrophe was Imputed, as well as the Wars of Scotland which had preceeded, and all the Violences us'd against the Protestants of England. And above all, they Imputed it to the Roman Catholicks, who were become so Haughty and Bold, thro' the Favour and Complaisance of the Court, that they affected to make themselves formidable: Thus it is, that King Charles's own Historian speaks.

The Lords again rejected the Bill for Excluding the Bishops, as they had done before, more than once; but they could not prevent the Printing and Publishing of the Manifesto,

nor

nor the Presenting of it to the King at Ham-
pton Court, immediately after his Return ^{3.}

Anno
1641.

The Historians of the King's Party speak of this Remonstrance, not only as of a Piece too Bold, but as a Satyr, Compos'd by the most seditious Members of the House of Commons, to make the King odious to the People, and with a Design to bring things to the Fatal Point, which they afterwards came to. I shall not determine on either side, but without making any Apology for the House of Commons: Their Remonstrance was not without Ground; and if there was something in it, that was too bold, their Accusations against the Papists, against the Queen, against Laud, and against the Earl of Strafford, were supported by convincing Proofs, by Letters, Commissions, Acts, and the Depositions of Witnesses: And from thence, fatal Suspicions arose against the King himself; but He protested his Innocence in so strong a manner, that none but his Enemies were not convinc'd of it. * It is nevertheless certain, that

³ The 21st
of Decem-
ber.

*In his
Ecclesiastical
and in a
great many
Declar-*

As to the Part which the Pope and his Emis-
saries acted in this Massacre, we need only read the Letter which the Apostolick Missionary in England, wrote to Ford, a Doctor of the Sor-
bonne. He speaks of that detestable Plot with Abhorrence, and Confesses at the same time, That all the Romish Clergy were engag'd in it, and that the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland presided in all the Assemblies of the Conspirators. The Pope himself approv'd of it; this was Urban the 8th, who Issued a Bull of Absolution for all Sins committed by the Accomplices of the Massa-

cre,

Anno cre, which was produc'd at Mac Guire's Tryal, 1641. one of the Heads of this horrid Conspiracy; and this Bull was preceded by another, which was promis'd the 4th of January 1642, to excite them to pursue their Rebellion.

*Presum-
ption a-
gainst the
King.*

As to the Proofs alledg'd against the Queen, and the Suspicions which resulted from thence against the King: In the Journal of the Parliament, from the 6th of December to the 13th, It is mention'd, the Troops of the Murderers gave themselves, *The Title of the Queen's Army for the Defence of Religion and Liberty*, which they alledg'd, the King was not Ignorant of. To this Evidence, they add, the Declaration or Manifesto, Publish'd by Phelim O'Neal, and Mac Guire, the Heads of the Conspirators, to Authorize their taking up Arms, by Virtue of a Commission (as they said) from the King, Issued under the Great Seal of Scotland, and Dated at Edinburgh, the 1st of October 1641. To this Manifesto, is join'd the Commission it self, address'd to the Irish Papists, and I refer those who are desirous to see those Pieces, to the Author ¹ that has Collected them, and Quotes the year they were Printed in, and the Booksellers where they are to be had.

*The Mi-
eries of
England.
See like-
wise Rush-
worth,
who has
them in
his First
Volume of
the 3d
Part.*

To the same Work is to be found, likewise a Letter written in those fatal Times, to the English Papists, Exhorting them to Execute the same Barbarities on the English Parliament, and on all the Protestants of their Kingdom. And lastly, there are a great many Depositions of Persons of Credit, who attest that Dillon, Butler, and several other Irish Commanders, that crowded the King's Court, were dispatch'd into Ireland by his Majesty, a little before the Massacre. And a ⁶ Member of the House of Commons, in a Conference between the two Houses affirm'd, That Dillon,

whilst

whilst he resided at Court, wrote to ^{Anno} two of the Leaders of the Conspirators, to assure them of the King's Approbation ; That Reasons of State oblig'd him to Dissemble at present, but that he would support them in a proper time. I don't know whether it is true, or not, that *Dillon* wrote to the Rebels ; but this is certain, That after the Massacre their Chiefs wrote to him, the 10th of November 1641. begging him to recommend their Interest to the King ^{1641.}

⁷ Taaffe
and Mal-
keri.

⁸ See that
Letter in
Rush-
worth's
Collections

It may be, that *Dillon* and all the Chiefs of the Conspiracy, abus'd the King's Name, and falsely boasted of his Consent. Perhaps too, the Commission Issued under the Great Seal, was forg'd, and the Seal put to it Clandestinely, either when the Seal was (if the Expression may be allow'd) Ambulatory, or else taken from the Patents Granted to some of their Abbies, and fastned to this false Commission, as it is alledg'd, ⁹ that some of the Conspirators Confess'd. What follows from all this, is, That all the Evil committed must be laid to the Queen's Charge, by whose Favour it was, that the Conspirators obtain'd Protection at Court, and that the King could, at most, only be guilty of too great an Indulgence for that Princess. In reality he had too much Indulgence for her ; for by a Letter of his, written the 5th of March 1644, ¹⁰ He promises to Abrogate the Penal Laws, That is, to take away the strongest Bulwark of the Protestant Religion.

⁹ See the
Annals of
K. Charles
and my Ld.
Claren-
don.
Rush-
worth.

¹¹ It is in-
serted in
the 2d Vo-
lume of the
3d Part
of Rush-
worth's
Collections

¹² The 29th
of May

1642.

¹³ See it at
length in
my Lord
Clarendon.

Anno 1641 nation, was taken for a Connivance. His Edict, said they, that declar'd them Traitors, was not issued, till more than ³ three Months after the Massacre was begun ; and as if he was afraid to Publish that Edict, he caus'd no more than Fifty Copies to be Printed off, and only Twenty of them were sent into Ireland *.

³ The Massacre was in Octob. and the Edict in January following.
* See Ludlow's Memoirs.

⁴ Tristan Whel-comb.

The steps taken by the Parliament to succour Ireland.

The two Houses Express'd themselves in stronger Terms, in their Address presented to the King at Theobalds, in March 1642. They did not scruple to say, That the Design of Destroying the Protestant Religion, was laid by those who were most in the King's favour; That the Queen, and the Pope's Agents that resided about her, were the principal Chiefs; That the Troubles of Scotland proceeded from the same source, and that the Irish Massacres boasted, That they had the King's Approbation, and that they had only taken up Arms to restore his Authority, which was Depress'd by the Puritans ; according to an Intercepted Letter from one of their Chiefs, to his Brother in England : To which they added, an Order Sign'd C. R. That is Charles Rex, to Captain Leg, to receive on Board his Ship such of the Conspirators as should Demand it ; and to Transport them where-ever they desir'd. To these they added, the Advices they receiv'd from Paris, Venice, and Rome, of the publick Rejoycings that were made on Account of the Resolution, which King Charles had taken to Destroy the Protestant Religion, and to break the neck of the Parliament, as those Advices had it. All this happen'd, not till after the King's return from his Journey to Scotland.

Such as these, were the Diffidence and Complaint of the two Houses, but chiefly of the Commons, and after this manner did they shew their

their Zeal (which had been Just if it had been better Regulated) for Vengeance, on the detestable Conspiracy of *Ireland*, which had already destroyed several Thousands of Persons, and continued still to put all Protestant *Ireland* to Fire and Sword. The Council of *Dublin*, and their Deputy *O Connelly*, implor'd their Succour, and conjured them, to send without delay, both Men and Money, which were very much wanted in the Kingdom. They endeavour'd to perform both ; *O Connelly* was Rewarded with a Present of Two Thousand Crowns, and a yearly Pension of One Thousand : And they borrowed Six Hundred Thousand Livres, from the City of *London*, to be Remitted to *Dublin*. They did not stop there, but the Necessity growing greater, by the Number of Wretches that increased Dayly, and by the urgent Necessity that there was to have Troops on foot, to suppress the Rebels : The Commons order'd to Raise Two Millions Four Hundred Thousand Livres, which they sollicited the City of *London* to furnish them, Engaging the Publick Faith of the Nation, for its Repayment with Interest at Twelve per Cent. All this Eagerness however was spoil'd by their Diffidence, and the Divisions between them and the King, not suffering the two Powers to Unite, the Efforts made by the one, without the other, prov'd but weak ; so that *England* did not recover her Dominion, nor re-establish her Religion in *Ireland*, but under another Government.

The King did not leave *Scotland* till November. *The King's return.*
He arriv'd the 25th at *London*, and the City gave him a Reception, that shew'd the Affection as well as the Magnificence of that Capital ; The next Day he went to *Hampton-Court*, where he Displaced Sir *Harry Vane*, and made my Lord

*See his
Elogj in
my Lord
Claren.*

Anno Falkland Secretary in his room, who was afterwards killed at Newbury about the latter end of September 1643, and My Lord of Essex lay'd down his Post of General of the North, which Determin'd with the King's Return.

The Commons Demand the Exclusion of the Bishops.

The King cannot consent thereto.

Offers to send Troops into Ireland.

The House of Lords Rejoic'd at the King's Presence, hoping that it might contribute to heal the Divisions of the two Houses; but the Commons still went on: Scarce was the King arriv'd at Hampton-Court, when they sent him a Deputation, with the Remonstrance I have mention'd. The King's Answer, tho' very moderate, yet was not satisfactory to the Commons: He Complain'd of their Printing and Publishing an Act, which wanted the Respect due to his Majesty. But he offer'd to punish such of his Council, as should be found Guilty. That he was ready to hear their Accusers, altho' he refus'd to give them up into their Hands, and to suffer them to be taken from his Judicature. He likewise Excus'd himself, That it was not in his Power to Exclude the Bishops from having Session in Parliament, they having always made a considerable part of the House of Peers; and he could not Exclude them from thence, without making that Illustrious Assembly defective, and altering the Constitution of the Realm. At the same Time he Protested his Affection to the Protestant Religion, as Established in the Church of England, and his Resolution to Maintain it in its Purity, both against the Usurpations of the Papists, and the Irreverence of the Nonconformists, and desir'd the Parliament's Concurrence therein. As to the Troubles, He desir'd as earnestly as the Commons, That there might be all possible Dispatch us'd to Suppress the Rebels, and to Comfort and Assist the Distress'd Sufferers; That if they on their part would give the Necessary

cessary Subsidies for the Raising and Maintaining of Troops : He on his, would incessantly apply himself to Transport them over into that Miserable Kingdom ; In order to their acting Vigorously against their Common Enemies.

Anno
1641.

This was not what the Commons would be *The Commons insist on the Levy of Troops.* at, they persisted in their Demand to Exclude the Bishops, and they would have the King to deliver up to them, such of his Council as oppos'd their Debates, as Infringers of their Liberties. And they pretended that the Levy of the Troops against the Rebels belong'd to them, as well as the Subsidies for their Payment ; this *The King opposes it.* the King refus'd to grant them, and this was what Sower'd both Parties more than ever, and occasion'd the Civil Wars which prov'd so Fatal to both.

The Bill for Succour of the *Protestants in Ireland* was the first occasion ; No Rebellion was ever more General, nor more Furious, and consequently, nothing could require more Earnestness and Dispatch, than to punish and suppress it. Every Day one or other of these Miserable People that had Escap'd from the Massacre, which the *Papists* still continu'd, arriv'd in *England* ; and the Council at *Dublin* sent Messenger after Messenger, to Sollicite for Troops, and that the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord Lieutenant might come over. But he refus'd to go, unless he carry'd with him an Army of Force sufficient, to suppress the Rebels. For he alledg'd, that a small Force would only make them more Haughty and more Insolent : He was in the Right, but the Difficulty was how to Raise these Troops. The Minds of the People were so ill dispos'd, that scarce any offer'd Voluntarily to serve, and there was a Necessity that Authority should be us'd to Force Men to List. This Difficulty star-
ted

A Dispute between the King and the Commons, about the Right of Raising Troops.

Anno
1641.

*The Reasons of the Commons for pretending to have the Right in them.
To press the Subjects to Enlist.*

*It was call'd the Press Act.
The Bill passes.*

The Government of the Tower given, and to whom.

ted another, and that was, in whom that Authority Lay. The House of Commons cut short and decided it, that the Right was in the King, only in case of an Invasion by a Foreign Power, and not in case of a Civil and Domestick War; because then his Right being Contested, and in Dispute, it was in the Commons, in whom the Safety and Liberty of the People resided; and that it belong'd to them only, to make what Sacrifice they Judg'd proper of that Liberty, for the publick Good. The Lords rejected the Bill brought in, but to no purpose; they endeavour'd too, but in Vain, to find out an Expedient, to save the pretended or lawful Right of the People, and the Authority of the Sovereign. It was in Vain too, that the King himself propos'd this Expedient, offering to Embark Ten Thousand Men that should Enlist themselves under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, if the Commons would furnish Money. But they rejected all these Proposals, and insisting obstinately on their Bill, they forc'd both the Lords and the King to Consent thereunto.

At the Time that the King gave this Satisfaction on one Hand to the Commons, he Charg'd them on the other. Sir *William Belfour*, was Governor of the Tower, and the Commons had a great deal of Reason to be satisfy'd with his Fidelity, which he had made apparent by the Care he took of the Earl of *Strafford*, when committed to his Custody. But the King was not satisfy'd with him, and on some pretence, whether Real or not, he turn'd him out of this Important Post, and put Sir —— *Lunsford* in his Room. The Commons murmur'd at this, and the King being unwilling to Irritate them, alter'd his Choice of this Subject, who was very unacceptable to the House; and conferr'd the Post

Post on Sir —— *Biron*, who was not better approv'd of than the other.

All these Contests did not Raise the Storm to a Height ; But it was not so about Episcopacy, this was the Carthage that was to be destroy'd, and *Pym* like another *Cato*, still insisted on that. He and his Adherents brought the Bill in again, and again, and renew'd their Instances to the Peers for their Consent. New Invectives were publish'd against Episcopal Government, and against the New Liturgy which they Tax'd with Impiety and Popery ; and *Burton* reviv'd those Outrageous Expressions, which he had us'd some Years before, and had Cost him so Dear.

This was not all, the *London Apprentices* follow'd by the Populace, would needs be of the Party, and caus'd their Petition to the King and Parliament to be Printed, which was conformable to the most Violent Complaints of the Commons. At that Time, says the Historian, ¹ My Lord it was with the City of *London*, as with the Parliament ; they had their Chamber compos'd of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and their Lower House compos'd of all the Citizens, ² who were *The Mob* the Masters of the Trade, and Riches of the Kingdom, Favourers of Liberty, and of the *Presbyterian* Party. A Multitude of these *Plebeians* join'd the Apprentices, and all coming in a Crowd, and surrounding the House of Lords, They cry'd out, no Bishops, no Bishops. ³ The Lords were alarm'd, and demanded the Concurrence of the Commons to appease this Tumult, and punish the Authors. But they receiv'd the Message but Coldly : God forbid, Say'd *Pym*, That we should stifle the Voice of Liberty, and oppose the just Desires of the People. Then it was that the Town dividing themselves into two Parties, distinguish'd the Factions by Party Names,

Anno
1641.

The Quarrel about Episcopacy Encreas'd.

The London Apprentices Interfere.

My Lord Clarendon.

The Mob join them.

My Lord Clarendon adds no Popish Lords.

Anno 1641. Names, Calling the Royalists *Cavaliers*, and the Parliamentarians *Roundheads*.

An Address from the Bishops to the King, which he sends to the Parliament.

On what the Protest was Grounded.

The Commons Irritated against them.

The Fault committed by the King, in requiring it to be Register'd.

In the mean time an Address from the Bishops was presented to the King, which he immediately sent to the Parliament; and this entirely spoil'd all. It contain'd a bitter Complaint against the Insult, which these Prelates receiv'd from the Populace in their way to the Parliament House, and the Danger their Lives were in, by Exposing their Persons to such a Mob, whose Fury oblig'd them to absent themselves. And lastly, It contain'd their Protest against all Acts, which should pass from that Day to the 27th of December, that they were forc'd to withdraw themselves from the House, until such Time as they could return with Honour and Safety. This Protest was founded on their Pretension of being a part of the Parliament; and that the Parliament was defective without them, and consequently all the Resolutions taken therein Null. But this Pretension of the Bishops, was altogether opposite to the Opinion of the Commons, who for Six Months had been endeavouring to Exclude them as useless Members, that had usurp'd an Authority both in Church and State, which did not belong to them. As soon as the Commons had notice of this Address, their Hatred against the Bishops was doubled, and this was the Fatal Stroke that undid them, and unfortunately Involv'd the King in their Ruin. If we Credit my Lord Clarendon, who was no Ways favourable to Williams, then Archbishop of York: It was he that drew up this Address, and that Prelate too Haughty and Vindictive, not only Engag'd his Brethren in that unseasonable Step, ^{but} but dfew the King into it precipitately, desiring him to send it to the House of Peers, with Orders to have it enter'd

ter'd in their Register. The King being Passionate for Episcopacy, and without Reflecting on the Consequence, took the Address out of the Archbishop's Hand, and deliver'd it to the Lord Keeper, whom he order'd to carry it immediately to the Lords, and require it to be Register'd.

Anno
1641.

His Orders were but too readily obey'd, and the Lord Keeper instead of delaying it, as in Prudence he ought, and waiting for a proper opportunity to Represent the dangerous Consequence of this Step to his Majesty, he ran immediately with the Bishop's Protest to the House of Lords. The Lords immediately sent for the Commons, and having caus'd the Protest to be Read in their Presence, deliver'd it to them to be Debated on in their House, and to let them know their Resolution thereon. Without any delay they return'd it to the Lords, and if there was Precipitation in the King's Proceedings, there was not less in theirs ; as if there was a certain Fatality in great Events, which Hurries Men on without suffering them to Reflect on the Consequences. In half an Hours time the Commons were determin'd, and their determination was the most Violent, and the most Terrible that they could take. The Twelve Bishops that Sign'd the Protest, were immediately Charg'd with High Treason, and order'd to be sent to the Tower, there to remain Prisoners, until the Lords pass'd the Bill for Excluding them from Parliament.

The King Irritated at this Proceeding, was resolv'd to be Reveng'd, and in order hereunto he once more Expos'd his Authority. He proceeded wrong, and if the Commons had not respect enough for him, he on his Side had not deference enough for the Commons, and both of them

*The Answer of
the Commons, to
whom it
was Com-
muni-
cated.*

*The
Twelve
Bishops
Imprison'd*

*The King
to Re-
venge him-
self, Ex-
poses his
Authority.*

Anno them were Guilty of such Faults; as cannot be
1642. sufficiently deplor'd.

*The At-
torney Ge-
neral
comes to
the Peers,
and De-
mands my
Ld. Kim-
bolton.*

*The Ld's
Answer.*

*The Serje-
ant at
Arms De-
mands the
Five Mem-
bers from
the Com-
mons.*

*They re-
fuse to
give them
up.*

On the third of January, the King sent his Attorney General to the Parliament, to Charge my Lord Kimbolton, and Five Members of the House of Commons, Hollis, Haslerig, Pym, Hambden and Strode, with *Leze Majesty*. About two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Attorney General came to Westminster, where he found both Houses Sitting: He went to the Lords, where he Read the Charge, containing Seven Articles; The Substance was, that the *Delinquents* had by their Calumnies, fomented Misunderstandings between the King and the Parliament, with design to overturn the Antient Government of the Kingdom, and to Establish a new one according to their own Fancy. That in order to put their design in Execution, they had advis'd to Raise Troops, and that Troops were still actually Raising to make War against his Majesty. The Charge being Read, the Attorney demanded my Lord Kimbolton to be deliver'd up, but the Lords Answer'd, that they would Debate it, and give their Resolutions the next Day.

Whilst the Attorney General carry'd this Charge to the Lords, the Serjeant at Arms carry'd it to the House of Commons. The Commons did not seem at all surpriz'd, but returning a more Haughty and Positive Answer than the Lords: They absolutely refus'd to deliver up the Five Members, and order'd them to make use of the Parliament's Guards, against any that should attempt to Seize their Persons, at their going out of the House.

The King would not be gain-said, and committed a second Fault worse than the first, in Exposing himself to a Personal Refusal from the House,

House, which was only first given to his Officers. The next Day he came in Person, Accompanied by the Prince *Palatine* his Nephew, and Five Hundred³ Arm'd Men, who suddenly Seiz'd on the Doors, and all the Avenues of the House. However, he Protested at his Entrance, that he was not come there to use any Violence, and the Speaker having Risen from the Chair, the King Seated himself therein : Some Authors say, that he made a short Speech to the Commons in very moderate Terms, complaining of their Refusal to deliver up the Five Members of their House, that had Conspir'd against him and the Parliament ; and requiring that they should be deliver'd up to him, to be Judg'd according to the Laws. Others alledge, that without using any Lenity, as soon as he was Seated, he demanded,

Where are the Five Traitors? The Speaker Kneeling, Answer'd, *That he saw none there :* Then it was, tho' too late, that he saw he had gone too far ; and Reading in the Countenance of all the Members a Resolution and Resentment, from whence every Thing was to be dreaded, he did think it proper to use farther Violence, and going out, told them, he left them to Debate among themselves on his Demand, and hop'd that they would immediately send him the Criminals.

The Commons were not at all so dispos'd ; for the King was no sooner gone, than that they Exclaim'd against this Proceeding, as a Violation of the Nation's Liberties, and resolv'd,

That to take the Five Members into Custody, or any other Member of Parliament, by any Authority whatever, without lawful Proceeding against them, and the Consent of the House of which he was a Member, was contrary to the Liberty of the Subject, and a Violation of the Privilege of Parliament.

Anno
1642.

*The King
commits
a second
Fault.*

³ *My Lord
Claren-
don lef-
sons the
Number.*

*The Spea-
ker's An-
swer.*

*Resolu-
tions of
the Com-
mons a-
gainst the
King's
Proceed-
ings.*

At

Anno 1642. At the same time they Protested, that if there was any Traytor amongst them, he should be accus'd in Form, and they were ready to Prosecute him according to Law ; but they declar'd the Proceeding against the Five Members Irregular, and the Warrant for Seizing of their Persons, false, scandalous, and unlawful. Empowering them to continue Sitting in the House, and demanding the Names of those that advis'd the King to this Proceeding ; In order to Prosecute them, as Defamers, and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

The City
of Lon-
don of
the Par-
liament's
Side.

The Mob
Rise.

The King had moreover the Chagreen, of having the City of London against him, and entirely of the Parliament Party. He would gladly have had the City in his Interests, and being sure of the Affection of the Lord Mayor, he desir'd the next Day, the Common Council might be Assembled at *Guild-Hall*, where he came in Person. His design was to justifie his Entrance into the House of Commons, and to perswade the Citizens that he had no Intention to Violate their Liberties ; but he did not succeed. Very few Persons Applauded what the King said, and altho' he told one of the Sheriffs that he would Dine at his House, and actually went there from *Guild-Hall*, Yet as Popular as this Action was, he could not prevent the Gathering and Clamours of the Mob, who follow'd his Coach ; Crying, *The Priviledges of the Parliament, the Priviledges of the Parliament* : Some carry'd their Fury farther, and Bawl'd out those Rebellious Words which are mention'd in Scripture, spoken by a Seditious Mutineer, advising the Israelites to Rebel against King David, *We have no part in David, neither have we Inheritance in the Son of Jesse ; Every Man to his Tent, O Israel.*

On

On the *Sunday* following, the City of London presented an Address to the King, notwithstanding that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen oppos'd it. The Address was to demand, 1. That Succours should be dispatch'd for *Ireland*, with the Consent of Parliament. 2. That the Government of the Tower, should be put into the Hands *don to* of a Governor that was not Suspected. 3. That *the King*, the Parliament should be allow'd such Guards, and as many in Number as they thought fit for their Security at *Westminster*, where the Sessions were Held. 4. That my Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members of the House of Commons, might in full Liberty take their Places in the two Houses; and that the King should revoke his Proscription as unlawful, and contrary to the Priviledges of Parliament.

Anno
1642.

*A Violent
Address of
the City
of Lon-*

The King's Answer was very Moderate, but as it rather tended to evade, than to satisfie their Demands, they join'd with the House of Commons to obtain them from him, and the Lords Concur'd thereunto. The King therefore foreseeing that it was impossible for him to prevent the restoring of the Six proscrib'd Members, and that the whole City, even to the Watermen, was preparing to bring them back in Pomp: He did not think it Consistent with his Dignity to be assisting therat, and therefore retir'd to *Hampton-Court* on the 10th of January. By this Means he avoided the Chagreen, which he would have had on the Morrow, of seeing these Members brought from their Lodgings to *Westminster*, attended by the Sheriffs, and the Militia of *London* as their Guards; and follow'd by several Thousands of Persons, who on the one side made Loud Acclamations for their Delivery, and for the Preservation or Restoring of their Priviledges; and on the other, Imprecations

Anno.
1642.

*The Court
Insulted.*

tions against the *Papists* whom they accus'd as being the Violators thereof. They had not even any Regard for the King ; but as they pass'd by *White-Hall*, they ask'd with a Sneer, how the Court came to be Deserted, and what was become of the *Cavaliers* who had made such a Bluster, and where it was that the King was gone with them.

But tho' the King by his retiring from *London* escaped the Mortification, which the Insolence of these Mutineers might have given him, yet he did not avoid the People and the Parliament's pursuing their Designs, either for their own Security, and to put him out of a Condition of attempting any Thing against their Liberties, or else to bring him under their Discretion, and to give Limits to his Authority. This was what they attempted immediately, and from that Time the two Houses agreeing together, they possess'd themselves of the Sovereign Power, of the Command of the Militia, and the keeping of the Forts ; and only left the King the Honour of his Name put at the Head of their Orders, which rather derogated from his Dignity than respected it. Of this Nature were the three Orders issued on the same Day. By the First, they commanded the Sheriffs of *London*, and their Major General *Skippon* to Invest the *Tower*, and to Blockade it. By the Second, they order'd Sir *John Horham* to go immediately to *Hull*, a strong Town in *Yorkshire*. And by the Third, they order'd the Governor of *Portsmouth* to be very Careful of the Town, and not to suffer any Person to come in and Command there without the King's Commission, approv'd of by the Parliament.

*The Par-
liament
Seizes on
the Sov-
reign
Power.*

*Orders to
Invest the
Tower,
and to
take Care
of Hull
and Port-
smouth.*

These

These three Orders were very Chagreening to the King, who saw himself now far from Arbitrary Power, by his having had too great a deference for them, who had made him aspire to it ; He now saw himself reduc'd to that Phantom of Sovereignty, of a *Doge of Venice* : To the which, he had so often repeated formerly, at the Prorogueing and Dissolving of his Parliaments, that they should never Subject him. But of all the three Orders, the second affected him the most, and it was to Evade that, that he made his greatest Efforts, even to give up the Bishops ; For whom till now, he had given up every Thing, even his Consent to the Bill, which gave the Right to the Parliament of Raising and Pressing Men for the Service of *Ireland*. All these Concessions only serv'd to Augment the Haughtiness of the Commons, whose Confidence the King could never regain : His offer of going in Person against the Rebels in *Ireland* was in Vain, and this offer did not render him any ways less suspected of having Intelligence with them ; and Pym, in one of his Speeches, accus'd him openly of it, and thereby like another *Demosthenes*, drew the whole House into his Prejudices ; That the King Conniv'd with the Heads of the Rebellion, and that he had given Commissions to some that were in *Ireland* to go and join them. All the rest of January, and the three following Months, were spent in Mutual Diffidence and Animosities ; and the King's Earnestness to Seize on *Hull*, and the Parliament's to keep it, so much Embroil'd them one with the other, that they were never afterwards reconciled.

I shall not decide which of the two Parties were most in the Wrong ; Perhaps they were equally Faulty, and they were each too diffident of the other. But it is certain, that after the

Anno
1642.

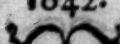
The uneasiness that it gives to the King.

He offers to go in Person against the Rebels, but is refus'd.

Pym accuses him of Intelligence with the Rebels.

Reflections on the Conduct of the King and the Common

Anno
1642.



Lord Cla-
rendon.

The Queen
charg'd
with High
Treason.

^a My Lord
Claren-
don says,
they only
Frighten'd
the Queen.
She re-
tires into
Holland
with the
Princess.

The Go-
vernment
of the
Tower,
taken
from By-
ron, and
given to
Conyers.

King gave his Consent to the two Bills that I have mention'd, that were so very prejudicial to himself, there was no Ground for the Parliament's Suspicions, that he affected any Thing against the Liberty of the Nation. But nevertheless, according to his own Historian, the appearance was strong against him, from his design to Seize on *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Places of which the Parliament were most Jealous. They knew very well, that it was resolv'd on by him to send the Queen to *Portsmouth*, the Governor of which Town was in her Interests, and the King himself was to Seize on *Hull*. The discovery of the Plot, (tho' by whom is not certainly known) was the occasion of its not succeeding; and the Queen was Cited by the Parliament, being accus'd by the Commons of High Treason. ^a The Queen avoided her appearing before them, by going out of the Kingdom; and avoided too the Indignity of a Flight, by the pretence of going with her Daughter into *Holland*, who at that Time was sent for by Ambassadors from the States General, to be brought over to her Husband; Prince *William* of *Nassau*, to whom she had been Married the Year before. As to the Fortress, we shall see by and by how the King attempted to Seize it, and how he Miscarry'd in that attempt.

But before the King attempted any thing on *Hull*, he gave the Parliament the Satisfaction they requir'd in removing the Governor of the Tower of *London*, and to Raise the Blockade; He took away that Government from *Byron*, who was not belov'd by the two Houses, and Substituted Sir —— *Conyers* in his Room, who was a Person not at all more acceptable to them. The Commons therefore, were not thereby prevented from Imprisoning again the

Twelve

Twelve Bishops, who had been admitted to Bail by the Lords. By which Action the Commons arrogated to themselves a Superiority, which encreas'd afterwards contrary to the Subordination which they ow'd the Peers, and the King either could not, or durst not remedy it.

He discover'd his Uneasiness and Irresolution, by the continual Changes of his Residence, from one Place to another ; From White-Hall to Hampton-Court ; from Hampton-Court to Windsor ; from Windsor to White-Hall ; to Theobalds ; to New-market ; thinking only how to fly from his Parliament, by thus changing his Places of Retreat, who still continu'd to pursue him. These were strange Proceedings both of the King, and of the Parliament, and it is difficult to dive into the Secret ; Perhaps neither of their Intentions were Evil, and that their Mutual diffidence was the only Reason of all the Disturbance. Whatever it was, there was something very Singular in their Conduct ; the Parliament believ'd, that the King had concert'd with the Queen and the Papists, to Change both the Government and Religion of the Realm : But nevertheless, there was nothing that they presid for more earnestly, than to have the King in his Palace at White-Hall, near his Parliament, to whom his Presence would give a greater Lustre, which Lustre must reflect back on the Prince himself : Thus it was that the two Houses express'd themselves in their repeated Addresses to the King, at every removal that he made. The King who was suspicious of this Earnestness, grew more diffident, and at the same Time that he Censur'd the Parliament's Fears, he shew'd his own ; and whilst in his Answers to their Addresses, he gave them Assurances of his good Intentions, both for their Liberties and Religion ; his uneasiness and frequent

Anno 1642.
The Commons arrogate to themselves a Superiority.

The King disturb'd.

The Jealousie of the Parliament.

Anno
1642.

*The Par-
liament's
Orders to
the Lord
Admiral,
and the
King's
Uneasiness
thereat.*

frequent removal from one Place to another gave them Grounds to doubt of his Sincerity.

His removal to York, encreas'd the Fears and Jealousies of both the Lords and Commons, who believ'd, and not without Reason, that this Journey was with design to Seize on Hull. The two Houses had sent Orders to the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord High Admiral, to have his Fleet in readiness for the Security of the Kingdom, forbidding him to act otherwise than according as he should be Commission'd by Parliament ; and this it was that occasion'd, or hasten'd the King's Journey to York. But on the other Hand, it was the King himself that occasion'd these Orders to be sent to the Admiral, by his opposing the Raising of Troops pursuant to the Press Bill. This Opposition of his, could not in reality be construed otherwise, than as a Retracting of his Consent to that Bill ; and this gave Grounds to suspect him as to the rest, and that there was no confiding in his Word. After this manner it was, that the two Houses express'd themselves about this Affair. They had demanded that this Opposition of the King's might cease. The King evaded the Demand, and they took his Answer for a refusal, which oblig'd them to take Care of the publick Safety, and to expedite these Orders I have mention'd to the Lord High Admiral.

*The King's
Journey
to York.
The Par-
liament
dissatisfy'd
thereat.
Their Bill
against
the King.*

But nevertheless, the King continu'd his Journey to York, and he was got as far as Hunting-ton before he notify'd it to the Parliament. The Parliament on receiving the Advice, drew up a Bill which demonstrated their Surprise and Anger : This Bill was to Advertise the Nation of the Danger it was expos'd to from the Papists, and forbid any Persons to Enlist, but under the Parliament's Banners, and by Virtue of their Commissions,

Commissions ; ordering that the Commissions Issued by the King should be of no Effect, as Unlawful.

Anno
1642.

They were not long without Advice of the King's design on Hull; it is said that this Advice came from Amsterdam, and that they wrote from thence, that the King had a Fleet in the Ports of Denmark, ready to Sail with Troops, Ammunition, and Provision. Some say that this News was Fabulous, and a mere Invention of the House of Commons, to make the King odious to the People. But it is certain, that he had a design on Hull, and the Parliament being always Vigilant for its Preservation, sent their Orders to the Governor, That he should own no Authority but that of the two Houses. They recommended to him likewise, to be Faithful and Vigilant, and at the same Time they made Preparations for such Succours as he should have occasion for, and assured him that they should be Timely sent.

*The Par-
liament
provides
for its
Security.*

The Intrigues, as well as the diffidence of both Parties still continued : The King sent to the Parliament on the 8th of April, to let them know that he was desirous to go over into Ireland with two Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse, and take Artillery and Arms for that Expedition out of the Magazine at Hull : The Parliament made Answer, that they could not Consent to that Voyage, that it would not be of any Service, but prejudicial to the Protestants, by whom the King was suspected, and Advantageous to Papists, who boasted of his Consent, and wold become more Bold on his Arrival in that Kingdom.

The Parliament in their Turn, make a Request to the King quite different from his to them, and entirely opposite to the Design that

he

Anno 1642. **he had on Hull:** And that was, that they begg'd him to Consent that the Parliament should Transport the Cannon and other Arms from thence, they being useless there, since the Pacification with *Scotland*, and cause them to be brought to the Tower of *London*, where they were wanting ; and from whence they might be sent readily where-ever they were Necessary. The King had no more Complaisance for the Parliament's Request, than they had for his ; and being Jealous of the Designs of each other from their Mutual refusal, they now thought of nothing but War.

*He designs
to Sur.
prise Hull.*

But before they came to an open Rupture, the King who could not deceive the Parliament, endeavour'd to Surprise the Governor and coming into the Neighbourhood of *Hull*, accompany'd by some Gentlemen of the Countrey, and Three Hundred of his Horse Guards he drew nigh the Town, and sent to tell the Governor Sir *John Hotham*, that he would Dine with him ; but the Governor excus'd himself on his Orders from the Parliament, to whom he was answerable for the Place, and that he could not suffer any Persons Arm'd, and with so Numerous a Train, as his Majesty had with him, to enter the Town. The King offer'd to come in in Person, only with the Twentieth part of his Retinue, but in Vain ; It was in Vain too, that on this second refusal of the Governor, he threaten'd to have him punish'd as a Rebel and a Traytor. *Hotham* Kneeling on the Rampart from whence he spoke to the King, the Gates being shur, begg'd of him not to be so severe to a Man who only discharg'd his Duty to his Majesty and to the Parliament : But nevertheless, he continued firm to his Resolution, and the King being obliged to retire, declar'd him a Traytor.

*The Go.
vernor re-
fuses En-
trance.*

At

At the same Time he sent to the two Houses, complaining of the Injury that he had receiv'd from the Governor; but they, instead of applying themselves to punish him, as the King demanded, they apply'd themselves to Reward and Praise his Fidelity. The anger'd Monarch issued a Declaration, Proscribing the Governor as Guilty of *Leze Majesty*; but this Declaration occasion'd an Address from the two Houses, by which they justify'd the Governor's Proceeding, and took him into their Protection; and declar'd any Person whatever, that should attempt to Seize his Person, a Violater of the Privileges of Parliament. They again dissuaded the King from a Journey to *Ireland*, and insisted that the Act for Raising of Troops, should be put in Execution; Protesting, that if the King continued to oppose it, they were discharg'd from all the Evils that might happen to him; and that they were oblig'd to provide for the Nation's Safety, by the Listing of Soldiers, which they would not desist from doing, according to the Rights of the People. They said, that these were the only Means to save the Church and State, and Exhorted all Faithful Englishmen to shew their Zeal for their Country, their Church, and for their Liberties, by their ready Obedience to so just a Resolution of the Parliament.

All the Month of *April* was spent in Mutual Bickerings; the King publish'd a Declaration, by the which, the Levies made by Parliament, were declar'd abusive of, and contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. He assur'd the People likewise, that the Troops, (which he only had the Right to Raise) should be Employ'd in the defence of the Laws, and of the Protestant Religion,

Anno
1642.

*The King
Proscribes
the Gover-
nor.*

*The Par-
liament
Protect
him.*

*The Par-
liament
Raise
Troops
without
the King's
Consent.*

*The King
opposes it.*

Anno 1642. Religion, to preserve the Monarchy, and to restore the Peace of the Nation. But he Gain'd as little by this Declaration, as by the former Ones, and the Parliament, without having any Regard thereunto, gave Orders that Eight Thousand Men should be Rais'd to be sent into *Ireland*, under the Command of my Lord *Wharton*; who was to be Independent of the King's Lieutenants, and only Responsable to the two Houses of Parliament; whose Power, and no other, he was to acknowledge. But the King oppos'd a-new these Levies, and gave the Parliament a Handle to cry out, as if he had Authoris'd the Rebellion of the *Papists*, and stop'd the Succours which the two Houses were willing to send to the *Protestants*. We shall see in the Sequel of the *Irish Affairs*, what this Misunderstanding Pointed at, which could not but be Ruinous and Distructive to the good Cause.

The Rights of Parliament. A long Time had now pass'd, since the King and Parliament kept no Measures; but nevertheless, one might observe, thro' all their Hatred, that they were afraid of each other, or rather that they both fear'd to come to Blows, and neither car'd to have the Odium of a Civil War laid to their Charge. Therefore each endeavour'd to have the Law and Reason on their Side, that if a War was Inevitable, The Odium of it might fall on those that were in the Wrong. The Parliament on their Side, had specious Pretences and Words very dear to the Nation; Such as Religion, Liberty, and the Safety of the People, which in short, they said, was *the Sovereign and Supreme Law*. The King on his Side, had others which were not less to be Respected, the Royal Dignity, the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Sovereign Power, which He pretended

The King's Rights.

Anno

1642.

His Pre-tentions.

tended to hold from God, and to which his Subjects ow'd an entire Obedience. But nevertheless, he Protested, that he would Exercise that Power, no otherwise than according to the Laws; but he alledg'd, that the Parliament had no Power, but Jointly with him, and that he was the Head of both Houses. That the House of Commons had the Power of Preparing, the Lords of Deciding; but that the Legislative Power, consisted in their Uniting with his Majesty. The Commons on the other Side Maintain'd, that the Sovereign Power was Originally Lodg'd in the People; and that the two Houses were the King's Great Council, and that it belong'd to them only to Judge Sovereignly of what was for the Good of the State, and what against it, and of every Thing that concern'd the Common Welfare, and that no private Council of the Prince, had any Right to oppose them, or Cross their Resolves.

Both Parties boasted, that they had the Municipal Laws on their Side, and each Quoted Authorities Extracted from the Constitution of the Kingdom. The Parliament above all, insisted on the King's Oath at his Coronation, by which he Swore to keep the Laws, to preserve the Nation's Priviledges, and to Maintain Peace in Church and State; and they concluded from thence, that by the Violation of these Articles, he was degraded from his Authority, which in full Right was devolv'd on the Parliament. The King deny'd the Consequence, and alledg'd, that they had no other Way but that of Remonstrance, and that Subjects could not withdraw their Obedience from their Sovereign.

One of the most Important Disputes between the King and Parliament, if it was not even the Chief, was about the Militia; the Raising of which,

*The Par- liament's Reas ons.**The King's**Disputes
about the
Militia.*

Anno 1642. which, each Party pretended to independently one of the other, and which neither perhaps had a Right to, without the unanimous Consent of both. This Dispute was begun in 1629, Reviv'd in 1640, 1641, 1642, and carry'd on with Warmth. The Commons Address to the King in March 1641, is in very strong Terms in that

* See Rush-worth's Collection. *A Bold Address of whatever ; Let Permission proceed from whence it the House would, unless it was with the Authority and Approbation of Parliament, and that the Laws of the mons.* *Realm were so.*

From thence they Inferr'd, 1. That the Le-
vies Rais'd in the King's Name without the Con-
sent of Parliament, were Unlawful. 2. That
this Violation of the Laws of the Nation, Au-
thoris'd the People to take up Arms in their
Common Defence ; and the Parliament to take
Care of the publick Safety. This was a very
Nice Question, and the House of Commons were
divided on the Debate of this Important Arti-
cle, but the Majority carry'd it always against
the King.

* Whit-
lock.

*A sharp
Speech of
a Member.*

How can any one (said one of the Members+) Maintain that the King can Raise Troops by his own Authority? He may then order Subsidies for their Payment, which is what no King of England ever pretended to; and if some of them had Recourse to Extraordinary Methods for Raising of Money, they always found themselves in the Wrong. It belongs to none but to the Commons, to Grant the King the necessary Sums for the publick Good ; All other Taxes whatever, occasion the Hatred and Insurrection of the People.

The

The Person that spoke after this manner, was nevertheless of Opinion, that both Sides should Disarm, and that there was no taking up of Arms that was Lawful, but what was Authoris'd by an Act pass'd by both Houses, and Assented to by the King. But the Commons Voted otherwise, and on the 2d of March 1641. Resolv'd, that the two Houses were sufficiently Authoris'd to take Care of the publick Safety; and that in the present Conjunction, it was their Duty to put the Nation in a State of Defence. This Resolution was approv'd of by the Lords, and the two Houses were of one and the same Opinion upon that Head.

This Year and the next they proceeded farther, and Voted that the Parliament Army was the only Means left to save the Nation; declaring the Army Rais'd by the King at the Suggestion of Evil Counsellors, to oppres the Nation, to be Enemies of their Countrey. The King on his Side, being Irritated at these Declarations, which had so little deference for his Authority, Caus'd it to be publish'd, That he would Treat all those as Rebels, or as Authors and Favourers of Rebellion, that should be found in Arms against him, or should furnish his Enemies Troops with Money, Horses, or Provision.

A Volume would scarce contain the several Messages that pass'd from the King to the Parliament, and from the Parliament to the King, and all the Declarations of both Parties, sometimes in Terms of Defiance and Challenge, and sometimes in Terms inclining to Peace, and Proposing Conditions: The King Propos'd, that the Parliament should Annul all their Ordinances made against him; that they should Disarm by Sea and Land, Promising on his Side to do nothing in the Affair of Ireland, nor in any other

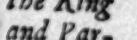
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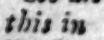
1641.

 See Rushworth.

 Votes of
Parlia-
ment.

 The King's
Declara-
tion quite
contrary.

 The Preli-
minary of
the King
and Par-
liament
quite op-
posite.

 See all
this in
Rush-
worth.

**Ann A
1642.** other, without the Advice and Consent of Parliament. The Parliament's Preliminary quite opposite to this, was, That the King should discharge his Troops and Return to London, to take his Seat in his Parliament, and then they protested to shew him their Submission and Inviolable Fidelity ; and that they would discharge their Army, as soon as the King had charg'd his. Neither Side would give Way, and both made it either a Point of Honour, or a Point of Safety, to stand stiffly to their Proposals, which prov'd Fatal to both.

**The King's
Com-
plaints.** What Submission, what Obedience, said the King, is to be expected from a Parliament that are so Furious ; after having Degraded me, and made so many Traytors of my Subjects, whom they Arm only to take away my Crown and my Life ?

**The Par-
liament's.** What Justice, what Protection ; Cry'd out the Parliament, Can we Hope for, from a King who misled by Pernicious Counsellors, and the Enemies of our Countrey and Religion, is for Exercising the Absolute Power of the Sword, only to Cut the Throats of his Protestant Subjects, and to Introduce an Absolute and Jesuitical Government ?

Is it, said the King, with Sword in Hand, that Subjects ought to Engage the Love and Protection of their Sovereign ?

Is it, said the Parliament, by Violating of the Laws, and Oppressing our Liberties and Consciences, that the King thinks to Regain our Affection, and put an end to our Difidence ?

**The Civil
War de-
clared.** On the 12th of May the King call'd together the Nobility of Yorkshire at York, and there shew'd to them, the Contest between him and the Parliament, on account of the Fortres of Hull. All the Lords and Gentlemen declar'd for him, and being assur'd of their Affections, he publish'd his Edict, by which they were order'd

der'd to be in Arms about his Person. The Parliament having taken notice of it, took this Arming to be a *Declaration of War*, and three Days after, they declar'd all those that should take up Arms pursuant to that Command, Disturbers of the publick Peace; Enjoining all Governors and Lieutenants of Counties, to Raise the Militia and to Fall on them.

This Proceeding was not relish'd by all the Lords, nor even by all the Commons, and a great Number of each House quitted the Parliament and came over to the King. Littleton the Lord Keeper, was of this Number, having first sent the Great Seal, which he follow'd soon after. The Parliament shew'd less Fear than Resentment on this Desertion: They caus'd another Seal to be made, and on the 30th of May, Hollis was sent from the Commons to demand Justice on the Nine Peers that had withdrawn themselves, which they obtain'd; the Lords having order'd, that those Nine Peers should be for ever depriv'd of their Place in Parliament, and kept in Prison during the Pleasure of the House.

In June they had again Recourse to Manifesto's and Complaints on both Sides; and the farther they proceeded in that manner, far from appeasing so dangerous a Ferment, the warmer the Debate grew. Projects of Accommodation were propos'd by both Sides, but those Projects seem'd only to carry the Face of designing to deceive each other, and none succeeded. The King, who still insisted on Hull, wrote to the two Houses, that if they would put this Place into his Hands, he would immediately Disband his Troops. But on the contrary, if they refus'd to Grant it, he declar'd to them, that all the Miseries of a Civil War were to be laid to their

Anno
1642.

*The Lord
Keeper
sends the
Great Seal
to the
King.*

*The Par-
liament
cause anoth-
er to be
made.*

*Nine Peers
that went
to the
King, are
depriv'd of
Session in
Parlia-
ment.*

*The King
demands
to have
Hull put
into his
Hands.*

Anno
1642.

The Par-
liament
refuse it.

*Reasons
for the
Refusal.*

*A Project
of Ac-
commoda-
tion pre-
sented to
the King.*

their Charge, since their Obstinacy occasion'd it. His Letter was publish'd, and the Parliament's Answer. In their Answer, they declar'd to him, that they could not suffer him to enter Hull, without acting contrary to the Interest of the Nation, and the publick Safety, of the which, they were the Guardians, and that all the Nation's Forces should be employ'd to preserve that Fortress. And opposing Protest to Protest, they declar'd the King himself answerable for all those Miseries, which the Nation was likely to suffer by a Domestick War, which the Siege of Hull must necessarily occasion between him and his People. That as for their Parts, the Lords and Commons said, that they, as Fathers of their Countrey, were oblig'd to take Care of it, and not to suffer it to be oppress'd; but that they should look upon those Pernicious Counsellors that should advise the King to take up Arms, as Sworn Enemies to the State.

In the two Declarations, or Remonstrances of the two Houses, one of the 29th of May, and the other of the 5th of June 1642, may be seen what were the Complaints, the Diffidence, and the Pretensions of the Parliament; and in the King's two Answers thereunto, may be seen what were his. The Recital thereof, would be too tedious in a general History, I therefore refer the Reader, who may be so Curious to see them, to my Lord Clarendon's History, where the Remonstrances and Answers are inserted at Length.

Some few Days after, the Earl of Bristol and the Lord Falconbridge, came to the King with a new Project of Accommodation, the Principal Articles whereof were, I. That the Officers of the Crown, the Counsellors of State, and the Governors of Places, should be appointed by

by Parliament. 2. That they should likewise have the Nomination of the Governors of the King's Children. 3. That they should not be ~~~~~ Married without the Consent of Parliament. 4. That the Laws against *Papists*, should be put in Execution without Delay, and without any Exception whatever. 5. That the Popish Lords should be Excluded the House of Peers, and that they should be oblig'd to bring up their Children *Protestants*. 6. That the King should suppress the New Liturgy. 7. That he should make a strict Alliance with the States General of the United Provinces, and with all the Protestant Princes, against the Pope and all of his Communion. There were more Articles to the Number of Nineteen, some of which related to the restoring of my Lord *Kimbleton*, and the Five Members of the House of Commons, that were proscrib'd by the King, and to the Exclusion of the new made Lords from their Session, until their Creation was approv'd of by the Parliament. The King being Irritated at the Boldness of these Proposals, and at the Indignity which he believ'd was offer'd to him by the two Houses, at first refus'd to give his Answer in Writing to their Deputies, as they desir'd; and only told them, that he could not Grant such unreasonable Demands, without Renouncing the Authority that God hath given him over his Children, and over his Subjects; and that he was resolv'd to preserve both Entire, with the Hazard of his Life, which was less dear to him, than his Honour and his Dignity. But having made Reflection on what ill Impressions might be made on the People by his Silence, he sent his Answer some Days after to the two Houses, and notify'd the same to the whole King-

*Rejected
by the
King:*

Anno dom. The first was, that he was willing to Concur with his Parliament, to Correct any Abuses that might have crept into the Government, either Civil or Ecclesiastical; but that he could never Consent to be Treated like a Papil, and suffer the two Houses to be his Tutors, and Usurp all the Authority. That the first Thing to begin with, in order to restore the publick Tranquillity was, to acknowledge the Sovereign Authority which God had put into his Hands, over the Government of Places, and the Raising and Command of the Troops; as likewise his Legislative Power, jointly with the two Houses, for the making and observing of the Laws. In the second Place, he demanded Justice on those, who had Fomented an ill Understanding between him and the Parliament; and a Revocation of those Declarations which the two Houses had publish'd at their Instigation, to the prejudice of the Honour, and the Lawful Rights of their Sovereign. On these Conditions, he offer'd to Concur with them in all Things, for the Common Good of the Nation, and of the Protestant Religion; and concluded with Assurances of his good Intentions, for the Defence and Lawful Privileges of both.

The Parliament offended at the King's Answer and Demand. Such an Answer as this, was not likely to prove a Satisfactory one to the Parliamentarians. They consider'd it rather as a Declaration of War, than an Expedient for Peace; and they prepar'd in good Earnest on both Sides. But nevertheless, both Parties abhor'd a Civil War, and both endeavour'd to Skreen themselves from the Odium of it, at the same Time that they Engag'd each other therein by their mutual Preparations and Hostilities. The King

He sends his Answer to the Parliament.

He demands Justice on the seditious Members.

The Parliament offended at the King's Answer and Demand.

King Protested by his Declaration, that he had no Design against the Parliament, for whom he should always have a great deal of Diference ; but against the *Paritan Faction*, which tended as much to the Destruction of the Lawful Authority of Parliaments, as of the Authority of the King. And that he on his Side, by preserving his own, design'd likewise to preserve theirs. The Parliament on their Side, in their Manifesto, distinguish'd the Sacred Person of his Majesty, (for which they said they had an Invincible Respect) from the *Malignant Party*, who Abus'd the Prince's Bounty, with design to Overthrow the Fundamental Laws of the State.

Whatever Sincerity, or Dissimulation had been hitherto practis'd by either Side ; Each, now, thought of nothing but of obtaining that by Force of Arms, which could not be obtain'd by Intrigue and Negotiation ; and two Armies soon appear'd in the Field, and two Fleets at Sea. The King's Troops first took the Field, and appear'd in the Neighbourhood of *Hull* ; and it was not long before the Parliament's were Assembled. These had the Earl of *Essex* for their *Generalissimo*, whom the King had in the Month of *March* before order'd, either to Quit the Parliament, or else to Resign his Office of *Lord Chamberlain*. The Earl of *Essex* Chose the Latter, and sent his Staff, as my Lord *Holland* did his *Golden Key* on the same Day, on the like Summons ; as being first Lord of the Bed-chamber. Thus it was that the King weaken'd his own Party, and strengthen'd the Parliament purely out of Complaisance to the Queen, who Hated these two Lords.

The Earls of *Bedford*³ and *Pembroke*, were appointed Lieutenant Generals. The first of the Horse, and the other of the Foot, both un-

Anno
1642.*The King's
Protestation
to
justify
himself
from the
Imputa-
tion of
the Civil
War.**The Par-
liament's**The King's
Army.**The Par-
liament's.**The Earl
of Essex,
their Ge-
neralissi-
mo.**His Lieut-
tenants.
³ William
Rufus;*

Anno
1642.



der the Command of the Generallissimo; and the Parliament Employ'd One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, of the Money design'd for Ireland, in the Payment of these Troops. It is true, that the publick Faith stood Engag'd for the Repayment of the Capital, and the Interest, so that Ireland was still to be Succour'd, but this was still a delay to her Deliverance.

The Earl

of War-

wick

made Al-

miral for

the Par-

liament.

Robert

Rich.

The Fleet was Commanded by the Earl of Warwick, whom the Parliament Created High Admiral. The Earl of Northumberland had some Yeats before been Honour'd with that Post; but whether it was on account of his being Indispos'd, or for other Reasons, for which his Indisposition serv'd as a pretence, the two Houses before the open Rupture, begg'd the King to Confer that Post on the Earl of Warwick. His Majesty then did not approve of it, and notwithstanding his Refusal, they Issued now a Commission for that Post to this Lord, which he accepted of. It was under these Leaders, that the Parliament's Fleet was put to Sea, and their Troops took the Field.

Before any Hostilities were committed, both Parties publish'd their Manifesto's; the King declar'd in his of the 25th of June, That he made War contrary to his Inclinations, and that he was forc'd thereto by the attempts that were made on his Royal Authority. He appeal'd for Evidence to the Lords of the Council, and to those Lords that had quitted the Parliament, and come over to him. Thirty Nine Sign'd this Protestation with him. The Parliament on their Side Protested, that they took up Arms with Regret, and that there was no other way left them to save their Religion and Liberty, and these different Protestations were Printed.

The King's Troops got the Start of the Parliaments, but the Earl of Warwick made himself Master of the Royal Fleet, and having struck the Duke of York's Flagg, whom the King his Father had made Lord High Admiral,⁴ he Hoisted his own. We shall see him in a little Time come up to Hull, with a Squadron of Twelve Ships, and Force the King to Raise the Siege.

The King's Army was not very Numerous when he Invested the Town: Having notice that a Man of War, which brought him Arms and Ammunition from Amsterdam, which the Queen had bought there with her Jewels, or rather with the Jewels of the Crown, was got into Kenningham Bay, He departed from York with Three Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse; and Encamp'd at Beverly, about Nine Miles from Hull. From thence he made another Tryal on the two Houses, to whom he sent a Courier to oblige them to deliver him up the Place on the Conditions which he offer'd them: But this second Proposal was no better approv'd of than the first; and the King finding that the way of Negotiation had no Effect, he was resolv'd to lay Siege to it in Form; but this had no better Success. He laid down before the Town, and open'd the Trenches; but it was not long, before he perceiv'd that this Expedition would not prove Fortunate. The Governor had caus'd the Banks to be broken, and Drowned the Countrey all about, so that the Pioneers had a great deal of difficulty to drain off the Water, and make the Soldiers lye dry. Besides, the Parliament had prepar'd to Succour the Town with Five Hundred Men, under the Command of Sir — Meldrum, whom they had made Lieutenant Governor of the Place.

Anno
1642.

*He makes
himself
Master of
the King's
Fleet.*

*⁴ Some say
it was
Penning-
ton that
was then
Admiral.*

*The Siege
of Hull.*

Anno
1642.

*Lord
Claren-
don.
The King
oblig'd to
Raise the
Siege.*

*The Go-
vernor of
Portl-
mouth
declares
for the
King.*

*A Fault
committed
by the
King, he
quits the
Northern
Counties
to come
back to
London.*

and was brought thither by Sea, in some of Admiral Warwick's Ships. In some little Time after, the Admiral appear'd himself, and the King having discover'd his Flag, began to think of a Retreat. Meldrum's frequent Sallies, had very much dishearten'd the Besiegers, whom this Bold Captain cut to Pieces in their Trenches; Beat up one Quarter of the Camp, and set Fire to the other. The King therefore despairing of taking the Place, broke up from before it about the latter end of July, and return'd to York. It is reported that the King would not have undertaken this Siege, but by my Lord Digby's Perswasion, who got into the Town in Disguise, and had prevail'd on the Governor; but the Intrigue was discover'd, and the King forced to Retreat. Such was the first Enterprise of the Royal Army, which presag'd but indifferently for the King.

The King comforted himself for this ill Success with the News he receiv'd, that Colonel Goring Governor of Portsmouth had declar'd for him; but this piece of good Luck, occasion'd his committing of a Fault, which was extremely prejudicial to his Affairs. He believ'd that Portsmouth being near to London, would help him to bring that Capital into his Interests, either willingly, or by force, and that he should infinitely be a greater Gainer thereby, than by the Obedience and Reduction of all the North, which the City of York seem'd to secure him of. But having taken his Resolution according to his Prejudice, he quitted this Northern County, and having caus'd his Troops, which now amounted to Twenty Thousand, to file off Southward and Eastward, he order'd his Rendezvous at Nottingham. This was not however done, till he had given very good Orders for the Preservation

servation of the Northern Counties, and the Blockade of *Hull*, which was the only Place of Strength, that gave him any Uneasiness on that Side. The Government of the Countrey was Entrusted to the Earl of *Cumberland*², and Sir ³*Clifford*.

Glenham was made his Lieutenant. Both good Royalists, but at the same Time good *Englishmen*, and Persons that did not delight in shedding of their Countrymen's Blood. In a Word, they were much more proper Persons to preserve the Peace, than to make War in the County. This is the Reflection that the Contemporary³ Historian makes, and he thinks that the King was mistaken in his Reasoning, and Hopes to abandon *York*, to come nearer to *London*, which he flatter'd himself, that *Portsmouth* declaring for him, would facilitate his access to. But he could not make himself Master of *London*, and he Lost *York* with the Northern Counties, which the Governors left there, could not defend against the Victorious Arms of the Parliamentarians⁴.

On the 25th of *August*, he set up the Royal Standard at *Nottingham*, and his Troops Rendezvous'd there. A Storm that Rose all on a sudden, blew down the Standard, which could not be set up again, till two or three Days after, when the Storm was over. An unlucky Omen this of the Expedition, and of the Misfortunes that attended it. Before he took the Field, he publish'd two very different Manifesto's; in the first all was War, declaring the Earl of *Essex* a Traitor and Rebel, as well as all those who had Rais'd Troops, by Virtue of Commissions from the two Houses; and the second was all Peace. He wrote to the Parliament, and his Letter dated the same Day that he set up his Standard, was carry'd to *Westminster*.

Anno
1642.

³ Lord
Claren-
don.

⁴ In the
Year 1644.

Two dif-
ferent
Manife-
sto's for
War and
Peace pub-
lish'd by
the King.

Anno
1642.

** Wrio.
thesley
and Sack-
vill.*

*The Par-
liament
take of-
fence at
the King's
declaring
War, and
refuse Au-
dience to
his Depu-
ties.*

*The Par-
liament
proscribe
the Peers
that aban-
don'd
them,*

*The Pa-
latine
Princes
come to
the King.*

** Raguer-
net in his
History of
Crom-
well.*

*The King's
Army.*

ster by the Earls³ of Southampton and Dorset, ac-
company'd by Sir — Culpeper, and Sir —
Wedall. The two Houses refus'd to give Audi-
ence to the Deputies, and would not receive the
letter, but by the Usher of the Black Rod. The
Answer was not at all delay'd, the two Houses
after shewing their Indignation, for proscribing
their Generals, and for the Signal of War,
which the King had declar'd by setting up his
Standard with so much Pomp ; they added, that
the Parliament being justly Irritated by these
two Actions, could not hearken to any Propo-
sal from his Majesty, until he had taken down
his Standard, and Revok'd his Declaration
against the Earl of Essex. The King seem'd to
despise this Haughtiness of the Parliament, and
taking it for a new Injury offer'd him, he had
no Thoughts of granting them the Satisfaction
they demanded. They made use of Reprisals,
and in their turn proscrib'd the Duke of Rich-
mond, the Earls of Newcastle, Cumberland, Bri-
stol, Rivers, and Carnarvan, and several others
whom they Stil'd Deserters from the Parlia-
ment, and Traytors to their Countrey.

These Mutual Proscriptions were follow'd by
the March of Troops on both Sides, who took
the Field in the Month of September, and came
to Blows about the latter end of October, as shall
be related presently.

Before the King March'd his Army from Not-
tingham, he was joyn'd by his Nephews Prince
Rupert, and Prince Maurice, Younger Sons of
the deceas'd Elector Palatine, Frederick the Fifth,
King of Bohemia, who brought him some Sol-
diers, but not Twenty Thousand, as a certain
Author³ would have us believe ; For the King's
whole Army scarce amounted to that Number.
The King at the Head of his Army, having the
Earl

Earl of Lindsey for his Lieutenant General, departed from Nottingham, and took his Rout by Shrewsbury ; where he found his Army to be Sixteen Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse ; including the Dragoons.

Anno

1642.

Every where, where the King's Army passed, the King made a Speech to the Nobility, and the People of the Countrey, to demonstrate on the one Hand, his Compassion and Grief for those Evils, which this War occasion'd them to suffer ; and on the other his Indignation and Resentment against those Seditions Persons, that had Kindled and Fomented it.

The Time may come, said he, that I may be able to Indemnifie my good Subjects for their Sufferings on my account ; and to Inflict on the Wicked, the Punishment due to their Rebellion : He added, *that his Cause, was the Cause of Religion, and of the Laws of the Nation, and that it would be Glorious hereafter, for those that suffer'd any Damage in the preserving of their King, and saving of the Monarchy.*

The Historians that relate this Speech, tell us, That it was Circular, and that the King caus'd it to be Printed, and distributed Copies thereof after speaking it.

The Parliament's Army, pretty near of equal force to the King's, began their March on the 9th of September ; but they spent some time in securing of Gloucester and Bristol, and knowing that the King, who still drew nearer to London, was already in Warwickshire, they took the same Rout. On the 22d of October, the two Armies came in sight of one another, and on the 23d, which was Sunday, they Engaged. The Battle was fought in a Vale under Edge-hill, call'd Red Horse Vale, a Name which it deserved to new, from the Blood that was shed there. Both sides

Extract of
the Speech

The Par-
liament's
Army.

Red
Horse
Vale.

Anno
1642.

*The Suc-
cess equal.
Ld. Cla-
rendon
gives an
Account
of this
somewhat
different
from this,
but in the
main the
Success
was just
as I have
related it.*

fought with equal Fury, and what is very Rare, with equal Success, each Party attributing the Victory to themselves: Both having laid all Night on the Field of Battel, and both retir'd next Day; the Royalists toward Kinton, and the Parliamentarians towards Warwick. The Number of the Slain was likewise pretty near equal, amounting to about Six Thousand on both sides, amongst whom were a great many Persons of Distinction. Amongst those on the King's side was the E. of Lindsey, who that Day Lead the Foot; and the Lord Aubigny, Son to the Duke of Lenox, and Brother to the Duke of Richmond: And on the Parliament's, my Lord St. John, Col. Essex and Col. Ramsay. The King and Prince Rupert his Nephew, signaliz'd their Valour, and the Earl of Lindsey's carried him too far. The Earl of Essex did not expose himself with less Ardour, and the Officers of his Army were oblig'd several times to use Violence, to draw him out of the midst of the Battle, where he was frequently Engaged with more warmth than became a General.

Nothing proves the Equality of the Success more, than the Inaction which both Parties remain'd in, neither of them attempting to renew the Fight, but only narrowly observing each other, to Dispute the Entrance into London. The King, accompanied by Prince Rupert, some Days after the Fight, approach'd the City at the Head of a Great Body of Horse; and the Earl of Essex, came on the other Side, to encourage the City, who began to take the Alarm. After the Battle, the Earl enter'd the Capital, as it were in Triumph, having boasted of the Honour of the Day; and on the News of the approach of the Royal Army, he was oblig'd to put himself at the Head of his. There had

*The King
draws
near to
London.*

been

been already a rude Shock between a Party of the King's Horse and some of the Parliament's Troops, that were Quarter'd in the Neighbourhood of London. Col. Hollis's Regiment was the first attack'd, and had been Cut all to pieces, if my Lord Brook's and Col. Hambden's Regiments had not come to their Succour. This Action, which happen'd in the sight of London, oblig'd the Earl of Essex to leave the City, and run to the Assistance of his Troops. His presence changed the Scene, and the King being unwilling to hazard a Battle so near a City where his Enemies were the strongest, thought of Retreating to Oxford. This was not done without difficulty: The whole Night Troops Drew out from London, so that his Camp was invested, and He had a great deal of Difficulty to save his Cannon and Baggage by Kingston-Bridge, after having dislodg'd the Enemy by Stratagem, by drawing them another way.

From this Time, to the Famous Battle of Newbury, which was on the 20th of September 1643, nothing considerable happen'd between the two Parties, only Surprizes and Skirmishes, with pretty near equal Success on both Sides. In the Northern Counties, the Earls of Newcastle and Cumberland, that Commanded the King's Troops, and Fairfax who Commanded the Parliament's, only Menaced one another without coming to Action. In Sussex the Earl of Essex retook the Field in April, Besieg'd and took Redding in Fifteen Days, from the opening of the Trenches. Prince Rupert made the King Reparation for this Loss, by the taking of Cirencester in Gloucestershire: There he found Arms for Three Thousand Men, with all Sort of Provision which he sent to Oxford, with Eleven Hundred Prisoners. Some little Time after, he laid Siege to the City of Gloucester, the Capital

Anno

1642.



The Earl
of Essex
comes to
Succour
the City.

The King
retires to
Oxford.

1643.

Several
Actions of
both Par-
ties.

1643.
Several
Actions of
both Par-
ties.

Anno
1643.

The Governor of Hull offers to deliver up the Town to the King.

The Parliament has notice of it.

*She went thither with the Princess of Orange her Daugh-
ter.*

The Queen returns to England.

A Bill against her.

** In May.*

Capital of that Shire, and was oblig'd to Rais'd it : But he afterwards Besieg'd Litchfield with better Success : The Town surrendring after he had defeated the Succours, which the Parliament had sent thither.

The King missed very narrowly of having the Pleasure to see himself Master of Hull ; which was the Cause, or at least the pretence of the War, and that Town was very near being deliver'd up to him by the very Person, who the Year before had shut the Gates against him with such earnest Protestations of his Fidelity to the Parliament. His Resolution did not last long, and whatever was the Motive of his Change, he sent his Son to the Earl of Newcastle in the beginning of May, to assure him, that he would not only deliver up this important Place to the King ; but that he would Cause Lincoln likewise to Fall into his Hands. The Plot was discover'd, and the Father and Son were Seiz'd and sent up to the Parliament.

Whilst these Things were transacting, the Queen return'd from Holland, * and Landed in the North with new Provisions, both of Men and Money. At York she was Complimented by the Earl of Montrose, who had taken a Resolution to quit the Scotch Covenanters ; but nevertheless return'd once more amongst them, and did not openly abandon them, till about the latter end of August ; and then he came into the King's Service, and persever'd therein, till he suffer'd Death for his Cause, after having Gain'd many Battles. From York, the Queen came to Oxford, where the King then was ; she was scarce got thither, when the Commons brought in a Bill against her, * a Bill accusing her of High Treason ; and Pym was sent up with it to the Lords, to desire their Concurrence.

rence. It was there Debated, but it past by a Majority of Voices. The Heads of the Charge against her were ; 1. That the Queen had Excited the Rebellion and Massacre in Ireland. 2. That she had Form'd a Conspiracy in Scotland. 3. That to defray the Expence of her Leagues, she had Pawn'd the Jewels of the Crown in Holland. By the same Bill it was Enacted, that all her Revenues, and even the King's should be Seiz'd on, to be made Use of for the Necessities of the State.

Anno
1643.



*The Par-
liament - c
order her
Revenue
and the
King's to
be Seiz'd.*

The People's Animosity proceeded from the Queen to her Priests and her Chappel; thither they came with Arm'd Men, drove out the Priests and Friars, broke the Organ, threw down the Altar in the Chappel, went into the Burying Place, pull'd down the Cross that was set up there, and left behind them every where Marks of their Hatred to Popery. Perhaps those Marks were too Out-ragious, but it was the Secret Practices of that Queen which gave occasion to the Out-rage.

It was about this Time, that the Hotbams, the Father and the Son were Seiz'd, and sent up to the Parliament at Westminster, who were resolv'd to bring them to Tryal; They were declar'd Guilty of High Treason, for designing to deliver up Hull and Lincoln to the King, and Sentenced to lose their Heads: The Sentence was pass'd in December 1644, but they were not Executed till January following. Thus it was that the Father by his Treason, derogated from the Fidelity which he had shewn two Years before to the Parliament, in shutting the Gates against the King: Or, thus it was, that he Repair'd the Indignity of the Injury offer'd to his Sovereign, by his suffering Death for his Service.

*The Q'.
Chappel
Insulted.*

*Chart
2156
AnsG
Book 1 p. 24
Nov 1640
not
R. 1640*

*Chart
2156
AnsG
Book 1 p. 24
Nov 1640
not
R. 1640*

*Chart
2156
AnsG
Book 1 p. 24
Nov 1640
not
R. 1640*

*Chart
2156
AnsG
Book 1 p. 24
Nov 1640
not
R. 1640*

*The Go-
vernor of
Hull, and
his Son
condemn'd
to be be-
headed.*

The

Anno
1641.

¹ My Lord
Claren-
don who
relates
this Ex-
pedition,
makes it
much more
Advan-
tageous to
the King's
Army.
Hamb-
den's
Death.

² My Lord
Claren-
don. •

The ill
Success of
the Par-
liament's
Army.

The good
Success of
the King's.

The Campagne of 1643, had been more favourable to the Royalists, than to the Parliamentarians, if the unfortunate Battle of Newbury had not turn'd the Scale, and occasion'd their losing all the Advantages which they had obtain'd before ¹. On the 17th of June, Prince Rupert defeated a Detachment of the Enemy that had beaten up one of the Quarters of the King's Troops ; and the Famous Hambden, who was as Zealous for his Countrey in the Field, as in the Debates of the House of Commons, Prided himself in dying in this Engagement, Sword in Hand for that Liberty, which he had defended with so much Warmth in his Speeches. The Historian ² that compares him to *Cinna* says, that he had a Head to design, a Tongue to perswade, and a Hand to Execute the most daring undertaking; His Death therefore, was as great a Cause of Joy to the King's Party, as it was of Sorrow to the Parliament.

The Sicknes that was in the Parliament's Army, prevented their Revenging this defeat, and Sir Hardress Waller, one of their General Officers, suffer'd a second at *Lansdown*, and a third some few Days after near *Roundway*, about the Devizes, where he was beaten by Sir —— *Wilmot*.

The taking of *Bristol* by Prince Rupert, in the beginning of *August*, and of *Exeter* by his Brother Prince Maurice the 4th of *September*, extremely heighten'd the Joy of the Royal Party ; and Col. *Goring*'s Arrival at *Newcastle* with two Hundred Chosen Men, join'd to the Success obtain'd by the Earl of *Newcastle* over the Parliamentarians, gave perhaps too much Confidence to the King, and occasion'd his unlucky undertaking, the Siege of *Gloucester*, where he Mis-carried.

I for.

I forgot to mention, that Waller imputed the Loss of *Bristol* to Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who was condemn'd to lose his Head by the Council of War, and was pardon'd by the Earl of *Essex*: But nevertheless, he could not digest the Affront, and it was this that oblig'd him to go out of *England*, and pass the remainder of his Days in Foreign Countreys.

Anto
1643.

Almost all the North and the East, either had declar'd for the King, or else were reduced by his Generals; and the City of *London*, which held for the Parliament, was so much alarm'd at this Progress of the King's Arms, that they caus'd a Line to be drawn of about Six Leagues in Circumference, to defend the City against the Approaches of the Royal Army. It is even believ'd, that if the King, instead of Besieging *Gloucester*, had laid down before *London*, as some advis'd him to do, that they had not attempted to defend themselves, but would have implor'd his Mercy; but the ill Fortune of that Prince would not suffer him to do it.

But there is very little Appearance, if the King had come up to *London*, that he would have succeeded, as those imagine, who blame him for neglecting it. The Conspiracy discover'd on the 10th of June, occasion'd the contrary side, which was the Governing Party, to take such Vigorous Resolutions, that the King could no longer depend upon his Creatures that he had in the City, nor form any reasonable Project to make himself Master of it.

Three Historians, two *English*, and one *Scotch*, give us a Relation of this Conspiracy; the two first are particularly very Copious on that Subject, of which I shall only give you an Abstract: The design was, 1. To put the King and the Royal Family in a Place of Safety.

A design to Seize upon London, proves Abortive.

Anno ty. 2. To Seize on all the Members of both
 1643. Houses, that were of the contrary Party, on
 the Lord Mayor of London, and Commissaries
 of the Militia. 3. To Seize on the Tower,
 the Forts, and the City Gates⁷. 4. To let in
 the King's Troops, to destroy all his Enemies.
 5. To Abolish all the Taxes impos'd by the
 Parliament, for the Subsistence of their Troops,
 and in short to change the whole Parliamentary
 Government.

⁷ My Lord
 Claren-
 don,
 Rush-
 worth,
 Mester,
 Salmonet.

*Who were
 the under-
 takers of
 the Enter-
 prize.*

The Conspiracy was discover'd by one Roe, a Servant of Tomkins one of the Conspirators, who discover'd it to Pym, the Demosthenes of the House of Commons. This was, as I have said, on the 10th of June, N. S. on a Wednesday, a Day of Devotion, on which Pym, with the rest of the Members, was at Church at Westminister. So Important a discovery as this, which required immediate Consultation, occasion'd his going out of the Church, with those to whom he thought proper to Communicate it, leaving the rest of the Assembly very much disturb'd; but they only went out to give the most pressing and Provisional Orders. The Devotion being ended, the two Houses met, and Pym Communicated to them, the account of the Conspiracy, with his usual Vehemence. The Principal Heads of the Conspiracy, were Edmund Waller, a Member of the House of Commons, Tomkins his Brother-in-Law, a Domestick Servant of the Queen's, and one Chaloner, a most Eminent Citizen of London; to these was Associated one Sir —— Crisp, who had obtain'd the King's Commission for him, and his Adherents, Issued under the Great Seal, to Raise as many Troops as he should think proper, to the end that the King's Party might become Superior to the Parliament's in London; and that he might Seize on such

such Posts as he should judge proper for his Design, and subdue or destroy all the Parliamentarians. The Commission was dated at Oxford the 16th of March, and was found (says one of the Historians) in Tomkins his Cellar. But Crisp had desir'd the King, that it might be given to my Lord *Aubigny's* Widow in a Box shut, without letting her know what was in it, and with Orders to deliver it to a Gentleman, who should come back to ask for it; and this Gentleman was Tomkins, to whom the Lady did not fail to deliver it.

ANNO
1643.

I think it is of little Importance, whether Crisp's Commission was a Sequel of Waller's, and his Accomplices Conspiracy, as the Parliamentarians pretend ; and the Historian who made the Collection of the whole Proceedings, seems to agree to, or whether it was a separate Enterprize from the other, with which it had no manner of Relation, as the other Historian affirms, which seems not at all to agree with the Commission, being found in Tomkins's Cellar.

* Rush-
worth.

Ld Cl-

The first Thing that the Parliament did, was to order a Thanksgiving for so Miraculous a Deliverance, and to draw up a new Oath to be taken by all the Members of Parliament for their Common defence, and for the defence of their Liberty, their Religion, and their Army, against the King's; which was Rais'd without Consent of Parliament, and in order to oppress them ; and to inform against all Traytors that should come to their Knowledge, and not to lay down their Arms, until their Enemies were destroy'd, and the Church and Nation was Triumphant. After this, they debated, after what manner they should proceed against the Delin-

Most of the changes
are **guents**

Anno
1643.

The De-
linquents
are sent
to the
Parlia-
ment's Ar-
my to be
Try'd.

Sentence
against
them.

Waller
Except.

* Rush-
worth.
The Earl
of Essex
saves his
Life.

quents whom they had Seiz'd on ; and at last, they concluded to send them to be Judg'd by the Parliament's Army. This Resolution was taken, without doubt, on account of Crisp's Commission, which the two Houses look'd on as the Source and Head of the Conspiracy, which was to be put in Execution by Force of Arms, and destroy the Parliament after they had put their Army to the Sword.

But whether that was so or not, the Parliament order'd the Earl of Essex to appoint a Court to Try the *Delinquents*; and he order'd Twenty Two Colonels out of the Army, and the Militia of the City, with the Earl of Manchester their President, to Try them. Tomkins and Chaloner appear'd the 30th of June before these Commissioners, and as all Things were sent ready prepar'd for their Tryal along with them, They were soon Try'd and Condemn'd on the 3d of July to be Hang'd, and were Executed two Days after.

But Waller having Excepted against the Court Martial, was heard in the House of Commons, to whom he Represented so strongly, that it concern'd their own Honour and the Interest of their Priviledges, that one of their Members should not be Try'd by a strange Tribunal, that they were shaken. Let me Dye, said he, if you order it ; but let it be like a Victim, Sacrific'd by your Hands, and not like a Profligate, deliver'd over to a Court of Blood. But the Historian * says, nevertheless, that after having debated the Matter, they sent him back to the Council of War who condemn'd him, as they had done Tomkins and Chaloner ; but that the Earl of Essex sav'd his Life, and after some Years Imprisonment, he was Releas'd, Paying a Fine of Fifty Thousand Crowns.

Tomkins

Turkeine and Chaloner confess'd themselves
Guilty of attempting a Deliverance, which was
reserv'd for Providence, and the publick Min-
isters of his Orders; and both dy'd with Execu-
tory Resolution, and good Protestants. After
all, these are Melancholy Fruits of Civil Wars.

The Lady *Aubigny* was for some Time kept a
Prisoner, and *Crisp* made his Escape into France.

About the middle of *August*, the King laid
Siege to *Glocester*, not believing that he should
meet with so Vigorous Resistance there, as the
Besieg'd made; which continued long enough to
give Time for the Succours to Advance, and to
oblige the King to Decamp and go meet them. He had
Summon'd the Town to Surrender, but
the Governor and Magistrates made Answer,
That they were ready to obey on the Sight of
his Majestie's Orders, jointly with the Parlia-
ments, they being equally Faithful to the King,
and to their Countrey. There were but Two
Thousand Men in the Garrison; but the Town
being Situate on an Eminence, and on the
Banks of the *Severne*, which passes at the Foot
of the Walls on the South East side, ren-
der'd the Approaches difficult. It is near this
Place, that the *Severne* makes the little Island
of *Alney*, which is so famous for the Fight be-
tween the two Princes, *Edmond Ironside*, the
Saxon, and *Cantius the Dane*. The King's Sum-
mons, and the Answer of the Besieg'd, was fol-
low'd by a Vigorous Attack on the one side, and
a Defence that was not less Vigorous on the
other.

Whilst these things were doing, the Earls of
Bedford, *Holland*, and *Clare*, quitted the Parlia-
ment Party, and came to the King in his Camp,
and were very well Receiv'd as *Believers* to
The King.

Anno

1643.

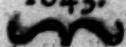
*The De-
liverance
of the
King.*

*Gloster
Besieg'd by
the King:*

*Earl of
Holland
comes over
to the
King.*

*The Earls
of Clare,
of Bed-
ford and
Holland,
comes over
to the
King.*

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*The Earl
of Essex
comes to
Relieve
Glouce-
ster.*

*His Entry
into the
Town.*

The Siege was carried on with Vigour, Prince *Rupert* at the Head of Six Thousand Horse, set Fire to the Suburbs, and the Battery being finish'd, they Batter'd the Walls, and Fir'd Red hot Bullets into the Town: But Col. *Massy*, who Commanded in the Place, made so good Dispositions, That the Citizens held firm, till the Succours arriv'd, which appear'd on the 5th of September.

These Succours left London on the 4th of August, and were Review'd that Day on *Hounslow Heath* by the Earl of *Essex*: His Army consisted of Ten Thousand Horse, and as many Foot, but the greatest part of them were Militia, and Drawn out of the Militia of the City. The General brought them on by short Marches, for fear of Fatiguing them, and he was oblig'd to March always close, and in Order of Battle, to prevent being surprized by the King's Parties, who every now and then attempted to beat up one Quarter or other of his Army. On the 5th of September he shew'd himself on *Presbury Hills*, from whence he could see the Enemies Camp, and the Town Besieged, and he fir'd Four Cannon to give the Town Notice of his being arriv'd. The King did not think it proper to wait for him in his Camp, but chose rather to Draw out of his Lines, and to offer him Battle. But the Earl of *Essex's* Design was to Relieve the Place, and so throw in Men and Provisions, which were very much wanted there; He therefore avoided Fighting, and came to Encamp at *Cheltenham*, where he had some Skirmishes with the King's Troops; and from thence Marching towards *Gloucester*, he arriv'd there with his whole Army, and was receiv'd with the Firing of the Cannon, and the Acclamations of the Besieged.

ed T

C. M.

He

(165)

He did not tarry long there, but having stor'd Anno
the Town with the Provisions and Ammunition
that it wanted, he departed from thence, and March'd towards Tewksbury, and from thence to Cirencester, which he retook from the Royalists; whose Army either could not, or durst not stop him. They did not ev'n attempt it, until they came near Hungerford, and there the Royalists attack'd his Rear-Guard, which suffer'd very much, but this did not prevent its joyning the Main Body. Then it was they came to an Engagement with equal Forces, and the Historians tell us, that mighty acts of Valour were perform'd on both Sides. The French, who never fail of illustrating the Actions of their Country-men, extol the Prowess of Chartre, Persans and Beaveau, Four of their Heroes that were in this Engagement. These came over with the Count de Harcourt, whom the young King Lewis the 14th, or rather the Queen Regent, sent into England, in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, to Negociate a Reconciliation between the King and the Parliament; these Four Lords, suffering themselves to be carried away, with the Fire Natural to their Nation, and forgetting the occasion of their Journey, came and offer'd their Service to the King, and were actually in the Battle. It cost the Marquis of Vlerville his Life, for he was kill'd by Col. Kilson whom he had wounded, and was pursuing with too much obstinacy; and the Bravery of these Four Adventurers, was the occasion of the Ambassador's Negociation proving abortive: For the Parliament, Resenting his Partiality, would not hearken to his Proposals. This was what they signified to him by the Earls of Stamford and Salisburry, who were deputed by the two Houses. The Ambassador excus'd it as an Imprudent Action,

The two
Armies
Engage.

My Lord
Claren-
don speaks
only of
the last,
who, he
says, came
over from
Holland
with the
Queen;
but I have
follow'd
the other
Histori-
ans.

Four
French
Lords of
the Am-
bassador's
Train
fought in
the King's
Army.
The Par-
liament
offended
at it.

Anno 1643 which, he said, could not be imputed to him; and for which the other had been sufficiently punisht, by the Death of one of their Companions: But these Excuses were rejected. Even he himself was accus'd of coming rather as a Spy than an Ambassador; and with a Design, rather to foment the Troubles, than to appease them.

*The Battle
of New-
bury.*

*Each Par-
ty Arro-
gates the
Victory to
them-
selves.*

*Rague-
not*

The Battle of Newbury follow'd the Rencounter at Hungerford; it was Fought the next Day, which was the 19th of September, and the Shock was much Sharper, and incomparably more Bloody. Eight Thousand Men were kill'd on the spot, and nothing but the Night could separate these furious Englishmen, who seem'd delighted to shed the Blood of each other. Each Party arrogated to themselves the Victory, and some Days after the Earl of Essex enter'd the City of London, with all the Pomp of a Conqueror, having the Standards and Colours that were taken from the Royalists carried before him. The People receiv'd him with Shouts of Joy; and the Commons, with their Speaker at their Head, came to Compliment him on the Occasion.

What the French Historian * relates of his Disgrace, his Laying down his Commission, and his Death, as if they had happen'd the same Year, is not in its proper Place, and we shall take notice of these three Events in their Order. What he affirms too, of the King's remaining Master of the Field of Battle, and the Earl of Essex's saving himself by Flight, has very little shew of Probability; * for if it had been so, the Royalists would have made their advantage of the Victory,

My Lord Clarendon speaks otherwise of it, tho' he lessens very much the Earl of Essex his Advantage, and the Loss of the Royalists.

Victory, pursued the Flying Enemy, and not suffer'd him to go to London and publish his Triumph there. It is probable, that if it had been so, the King would have enter'd the City himself, to declare his own, and to make himself Master of the Parliament, by being Master of the Capital. The Loss too of his best Leaders, the Earl of Cornarvan, the Earl of Sunderland, the Viscount Falkland, Col. Morgan, Col. Poole and Col. Murry shew'd that he was not Victorious. Of all these Lords, the English Historian Illustrates the Great Qualities of my Lord Falkland the most, and speaks of him as of a Heroe compleat.

The Season being far Adyanc'd, the King thought of settling his Winter Quarters at Oxford, and thereabouts, and call'd a new Parliament to meet there, in opposition to the Parliament at Westminster. This was Notified to the Two Houses, as it were, to order a Translation of their Assembly thither ; but he got no advantage by this, and the Divisions that were in this new Parliament, if we can give it that Name, oblig'd him to Dissolve it in the beginning of the year 1645.

The Parliament was Summon'd to meet on the 21st of January 1644, three Dukes, whereof the Duke of York, who was then but Eleven Years Old was one ; one Marquis, Nineteen Earls, and Eighteen Barons, the Lord Treasurer Cottingham, and the Lord Keeper Littleton, made up the House of Lords, and there were a Hundred and Forty Members in the House of Commons. The greatest part of them came from the Westminster Parliament, which they abandon'd, to make up this at Oxford, and the King himself added some. By the Speech which the King made at the opening of the Session, it may

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1643.

*The King
Retires to
Oxford,
and Calls
a Parlia-
ment to
there.*

*The Ox-
ford Par-
liament.*

Anno 1643. be perceiv'd, that the chief Cause of this Calling of a Parliament, was on the account of the new League between England and Scotland; and the Apprehensions that he had of this Repeated Covenant between the two Kingdoms. He told them, that it was to dissipate this League, that he had Call'd them together, and to secure the Laws, and the Counties of England, from the Ruin which they were threatened with by these Rebels. We must say something here of this Confederacy, Renew'd again between England and Scotland.

*Deputies
from the
Parlia-
ment at
Westmin-
ster, to
the Estates
of Scot-
land.*

*My Lord
Claren-
don ac-
cuses him
of betray-
ing the
King.*

*Their Pro-
posals of
Union ac-
cused of.*

On the 22d of June 1643, There was a Convention of the States at Edinborough, which the Scotch Historian says, differs from a Parliament only in Pomp and Formality; which is not so great in the first, as in the latter. Duke Hamilton presid'd there in the King's Name; and Deputies from the Parliament at Westminster, came there to demand the Concurrence and Union of that Assembly with theirs, and of the Clergy and Forces of both Kingdoms, against the Faction of Prelates and Papists, their Common Enemies. These Deputies offer'd to renew the Covenant, and at the same Time demand Succours of Horse and Foot, Promising on their Sides to put a Fleet to Sea, sufficient to secure the Frontiers of Scotland, next to Ireland, against the Insults of the Irish Papists.

Their Proposal was agreed to, the States of Scotland resolv'd to Raise Troops, and to give the Command to Montrose, who accepted of it; but it was only with a design to deceive them, as we shall see by and by. About the middle of August, he came to the King at Oxford, and discover'd to him the Resolution taken by the Confederates, Exhorting him at the same time to prevent

prevent them : • He was not believ'd. The King who was naturally too Ease, and besides, not finding himself strong enough to support two Wars at a Time, endeavour'd to Evade that of Scotland, either thro' Dissimulation, or Weakness ; and only bent his Thoughts on pursuing the War in England. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Confederacy was Sign'd the 17th of August, by the States of Edinborough, and Ratify'd the 1st of September by those of Westminster. The Treaty Imported, That to secure the two Kingdoms, and their Religion from utter Destruction, according to the Laudable Practice of the two Kingdoms in former Times ; and after the Example of the People of God, on the like occasions, they enter'd into a Mutual and Solemn Association, 1. To Maintain the Protestant Religion, in the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to the Discipline and Worship that was most Conformable to the Word of God. 2. To Preserve the Government according to the Laws, that is to say, the Rights of Parliament, and the Rights of the Monarchy, they having no Intention to diminish the Grandeur, and the just Authority of the King. 3. To suppress and punish all Incendiaries, that occasion'd any Division between the two Powers. 4. To defend one another Reciprocally, with their Lives and Fortunes, against their Common Enemies.

The Preachers in their Sermons, spake of this Act in the most Magnificent Terms imaginable : They said, It was the most Important Work that ever was Undertaken, that it tended to advance the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and make Jerusalem Glorious throughout all the Earth, notwithstanding the Opposition of Men.

On the 29th of November, they likewise Sign'd the Articles relating to the Army, which Scotland oblig'd herself to send into England. This Army

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1643.

** See Men-
tet Sal-
monet's
History of
the Trou-
bles of
Great-
Britain:*

*The Com-
mendation
of it
by the
Preachers.*

Anno
1643.

Lesly
General
of the
Scotch
Army.

¹ Accord-
ing to my
Ld Cla-
rendon,
he was se-
cretly en-
gag'd in
the King's
Party
from 1640

1644.
Pym's
Death.

* Rush-
worth.

* My Lord
Claren-
don speaks
that of
him, and
after him
the Com-
plete Hi-
story of
England.

Army was to consist of Eighteen Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse; and the Parliament at Westminster oblig'd themselves to furnish Three Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds per Month for their Pay. Both the Kingdoms Mutually oblig'd themselves to make neither Peace nor Truce, but by common Consent of both.

Pursuant to the Covenant and these Articles, the Principal one of which, I have related, the States of Scotland Rais'd an Army, whereof Lesly was declar'd General in the Room of Montrose, who had render'd himself suspected, and soon after declar'd openly for the King. ² Lesly about the latter end of the Year, came and laid Siege to York, but the Town was not taken till the beginning of July 1644, after a Battle fought under its Walls, in Sight of the Besieg'd, as I shall relate by and by.

The Death of Pym, which happen'd in the beginning of the Year 1644, was a great Loss to the Commons; It was even a Loss to the whole Kingdom, if regard is had to those of his Party, or to his Apology written by his own Hand, which he left to be publish'd after his Death. Therein he Protested the Uprightness of his Intentions for Religion, for the publick Safety, and for the Sacred Person of the King; and that he never acted neither in the Business of my Lord Strafford, nor in any of the Debates in Parliament, on any other Motives than the Principles of Conscience, and Love of his Country: The Author ³ who gives us this Piece in his Historical Collections, seems persuad'd of the Sincerity of so good a Country-man, of whom, says he, they publish'd very Injurious Reflections, as if he dy'd Distracted, and Eaten up with Lice'. But the Magnificence of his Funeral (adds this Author) which the Parliament Honour'd

Honour'd him with, destroys this Calumny, and he had the Honour to be Interr'd in Westminster-
Abby, where the Kings and Princes of England
are Interr'd.

The Assembly at Oxford, to which I now re-
turn, had very good Intentions, but they wan-
ted Power; and that of Westminster had no man-
ner of regard to a Letter, which they from Ox-
ford wrote to the Earl of Essex, to sollicite him
to obtain from the Party whose Army he Com-
manded, a Conference, to which both Parties
might send their Plenipotentiaries in full Secu-
rity, and Treat of a Peace. The Letter was
dated the 27th of January, and Sign'd by the
King's two Sons, and the Principal Lords of the
Assembly *. The two Houses at Westminster
were offended at the Letter, being Address'd to
the Earl of Essex, and would not read it. To
satisfie them, the King himself wrote them a
Letter dated the 3d of March, with this Super-
scription, *To the Lords and Commons Assembled
with the Estates at Westminster.* He Invites them
to the Conference mention'd in the former Let-
ter, and leaves the Time and Place to their
Choice: He only Represents to them the Ne-
cessity that there is, for them to Compassionate
with him the Sufferings of England, and to
assist him to restore the publick Tranquillity.
Their Answer was, that they were ready to Con-
cur with his Majesty, to find out proper Means
to quiet the Troubles of the Nation; but that
it must be transacted with them who were the
Representatives of the whole Nation, and not
with a spurious Assembly, such as that of Ox-
ford was, with whom they could not Engage in
any Negotiation. All Hopes therefore of an
Accommodation being at an End, the Armies on
all Sides began to take the Field.

Anno
1644.

*The As-
sembly at
Westmin-
ster, Still
the Ox-
ford As-
sembly un-
lawful.*

*The King's
Letter to
the for-
mer.
* Accord-
ing to my
Lord Clas-
tendon, it
was the
29th, and
he says
that it
was Sign'd
likewise
by 118
Members
of the
House of
Commons.*

The

Anno

1644

*The Function of
the two
Parliamen-
tarion Ar-
mies of
England
and Scot-
land.*

*My Lord
Claren-
don says,
that the
two
Houses
made him
Indepen-
dent of
the Earl
of Essex.
The King's
Army.*

² In Not-
tingham-
shire.
*Success of
the two
Parties.*

The Scotch Army, Commanded by General *Leffy*, was the first that appear'd ; and as I have already mention'd, enter'd England in the latter end of the Year 1643, and the English join'd them in the beginning of the Year 1644, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, who made several Detachments to act in different Places at the same Time ; Some under the Command of *Waller* and *Meldrum*, and others under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, ¹ and his Lieutenants, the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, who afterwards succeeded the Earl of *Essex* in the Generalship. The King's Army was likewise in Motion, and like the *Covenanter's*, separated in several Bodies ; the two Chief of which were Commanded, the one by the King, and the two Princes *Palatine* his Nephews, and the other by the Marquis of *Montrose* ; the Duke of *Hamilton* being then a Prisoner in *Pendennis Castle*, having render'd himself suspected to the King.

All these Armies having different Designs, had also different Success ; *Meldrum* laid Siege to *Newark*, ² and Prince *Rupert* oblig'd him to Raise the Siege on the 1st of April, three Weeks after the opening of the Trenches ; but the two *Fairfax's*, the Father and the Son, advancing Northward, defeated the Earl of *Newcastle* in several Engagements.

In the Month of January, they defeated the Troops from *Ireland*, Commanded by the Lord *Byron*, whom they forc'd to Raise the Siege of *Nantwich*, and to make his Escape to *Chester*, with the few Foot and Horse, which he rallied as well as he could.

Montrose went to *Scotland* and took *Dumfreise*, but having scarce Two Thousand Men with him, he durst not Engage in any greater Enterprizes, but

but return'd and join'd the English Royalists that had quitted him at the River *Annan*, and would follow him no farther. The King's other Forces, Commanded by Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, took some Places in *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; but all these Successes, either good or bad, of either Party, were but of little Consequence, for they decided nothing.

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1644.

The Parliament Army put themselves on an undertaking somewhat more important and Decisive; by laying Siege to *Oxford*, which *Waller* block'd up on the South-side, by Quartering his Troops in *Abington*, whilst my Lord *Essex* Invested it to the Northward, by Encamping about *Ship*; the King would not suffer himself to be shut up in the Town, and having left a good Garrison, he March'd out with the rest of his Army to *Worcester*: He was pursued by *Waller*, and the two Armies Ingag'd near *Cropredy*, on the other side of the River *Charwell*, which *Waller* pass'd over, the Bridge that was left open to him, on purpose to draw him to a Battle; which was fought on the 9th of July. He lost Three Hundred Men kill'd on the Spot, and a greater Number of Prisoners with all his Cannon, with the Loss only of Twenty Men on the King's Side. The Earl of *Essex* was not in this Engagement, being amused with the taking of some Inconsiderable Castles, and by that Means, fail'd of the two great Designs which he had laid. The first on *Oxford*, the Siege of which he durst not attempt after *Waller*'s defeat; and the second on the Royal Army, which he did not only suffer to Escape him, but likewise to Gain a Victory over his Lieutenant. I shall not here relate several little Expeditions, wherein sometimes

Oxford
Blockaded

The King
Marches
out.

Defeats
Waller.

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1644

*The Sequel
of the
Siege of
York.*

*Caven-
dish.

Prince
Rupert
attempts
to Raise
the Siege.

The Go-
vernour of
York de-
signs to
join him.

times one Party, sometimes the other, had the Advantage. The Relation would be too tedious and tiresome to the Reader, I therefore hasten and proceed to the decisive Events.

Such was the taking of York, and the Battle that preceded it; I have already taken notice, that the Siege was first form'd by the Scotch Army, Commanded by *Lesly*, about the latter end of the Year 1643. The English Parliament's Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, Reinforc'd them with *Cromwell*, and the two *Fairfax*'s, his Lieutenants; the Marquis of *Newcastle*, Governor of the Town, had bravely defended it against the Besiegers for Six Months; but he began to want Provisions, which he gave the King notice of, who immediately sent Prince *Rupert* with Forces to relieve him. The Prince having begun his March about the latter end of June, order'd *Montrose* to quit Scotland, and to come and join him with his Army about York; *Montrose* obey'd, but notwithstanding that he us'd his utmost Diligence, the Parliamentarians were before-hand with him, and Engag'd Prince *Rupert* before *Montrose* could join him. This Misfortune was follow'd by another; so much the King's ill Luck turn'd every Thing to his Disadvantage, that it had not only an Influence on his own Actions, but even on the Actions of his Generals.

The Generals of the Parliament's Army, could not prevent an Interview on the 25th of July, between Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Newcastle*, in which it was agreed on between them, that the next Morning Early, the Marquis should March out with all his Garrison, which consisted of Six Thousand Men, and come to join the Prince's Army, who was resolv'd to attack

attack the Enemy : * It happen'd unluckily, that that was Muster Day, and likewise the usual Pay Day for the Soldiers, who refus'd to March out until they receiv'd their Pay. The Governor who wanted Money, conjur'd them to have Patience, but in Vain. In Vain too, he offer'd to be Security for their Payment ; they still persisted in their refusal, and the whole Day pass'd in these Contests : Nevertheless, he would not break his Word, and tho' it was Four a Clock in the Afternoon, and that he had prevail'd but on a very few Officers and Soldiers, whose Honour got the better of their Interest ; yet he did not fail to come with this Handful of Brave Men to Prince Rupert's Army, which had been drawn out in Line of Battle, ever since the Morning, in the Plains of Marston Moor, Four Miles from York.

After two such Misfortunes, if the Prince had been well advis'd, he had return'd to his Lines ; but whilst he lost Time in Venting his Anger against the Earl of Newcastle, who was not at all blameable ; and in altering the Disposition of his Army : The Enemy judging of his Perplexity by the Alteration, immediately order'd the Left Wing of their Horse, to attack the Right of his. He was not at all Surpriz'd, and without listening to those who advis'd him to Retreat, he resolv'd to Fight. His Valour was but ill supported, and notwithstanding his Remonstrances and Example, his Horse gave way, and falling in on the Foot, put them into disorder.

The Left Wing of the Royalists, made amends for the ill Success of the Right ; Colonel Goring who Commanded it, Charg'd General Lely with so much Fury, that in spight of all the Bravery of this Valiant Scot, he put his Wing into Confusion.

Both

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1644.

³ My Lord Claren-
don com-
putes the Misunder-
standing
between
the Prince
and the
Marquis
to other
Causes,
and blames
them both,
but chiefly
the Prince
more than
the others

The Bat-
tle.

Prince
Rupert's
Horse
give Way.

The Left
Wing has
the better.

Anno
1644.

~~Both Armies beat,~~
~~and are beaten.~~

~~Prince Rupert's Retreat.~~

~~The Retreat of the Parliament's General.~~

~~The Parliament's Troops Rally.~~

* See Men-
tre Sal-
monet.

Both the Armies were strangely confus'd, and there are but few Examples of the like. The two Wings that were beaten, caus'd so much Terror in the main Bodies, that the Conquering Wings could not Re-animate their Courage. Prince Rupert was therefore forc'd on his Side to retire to Newcastle, leaving the Lord Carey, Sir Thomas Macham, Col. Ewer, and Col. Townly amongst the Slain; the Number of which amounted to near Two Thousand Men, besides a great many Prisoners, amongst whom was Sir Charles Lucas, Col. Porter, and Col. Tillard; he lost likewise part of his Cannon and Baggage, which fell into the Enemies Hands.

On the other Side, General Lestly fled to Waterby, and Fairfax one of the Earl of Manchester's Lieutenant Generals to Conwood Castle; so that one might at the same time, see the Royalists fly, who believed that they had lost the Battle, and the Parliamentarians do the same, who believ'd that the Royalists had Gain'd the Victory. But the Parliamentarians sustain'd less Loss than the others; and if they had as many Slain, as the Royalists on the Spot, they sav'd however their Cannon, and likewise made their Advantage of the Enemies. In short, they had Troops enough remaining in good order on the Field of Battle, not only to maintain themselves there; but likewise to wait there for the return of those that fled, who Rallied and came up in the Night, and to force the City of York to Capitulate the next Day.

After this manner, some Authors relate the Particulars of this Battle, which is sometimes call'd *Marske Moor Fight*, from the Place on which they Engag'd; and sometimes *York Battle*, from the Town near which it was fought.

Others

say

Others will have it, that the first onset was to the Advantage of the Royalists, and that Prince *Rupert* on his Side, and General *Goring* on his, were equally Victorious; but that the Enemies animated by *Cromwell*, Rallied and Charg'd those that pursued them so briskly, that they in their turn, put the pursuers to flight, and Gain'd the Victory. There are others, who make this Event to be on the 23d of July, and affirm, but with less Probability; that not only the three Armies, that of the English Parliamentarians, the Scotch, and the Royalists were Engaged in this Action; but that there was likewise a fourth Army Commanded by the Marquis of *Montrose*; but he was employ'd elsewhere, and was not in the Battle. They add too, that the King was there in Person, and that Prince *Rupert* acted only as his Lieutenant, and not as Commander in Chief. In this too they are mistaken, the King as well as *Montrose*, was elsewhere, and not in the Engagement. But they will have it, that the Battle was renew'd the next Day, that it was very Bloody, and lasted the second Day for more than three Hours; that the Victory fell entirely on the Parliament's Side, to whom the City of *York* surrender'd the Day following. But this difference of Opinions is but of small Consideration, for it is of very little Importance; whether the Battle was fought some few Days sooner, or later; whether it lasted one Day, or two; or whether four Armies, or only three, were Engag'd? What is Essential, is, that the Battle was certainly fought, that the Success was not on the Royalists Side, and that it was follow'd by the taking of the Town, which they design'd to Relieve; which surrendered to the Parliamentarians, as *Newcastle* did, two Months after.

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⁴ Father
Orleans,
and my
Lord Cla-
rendon.
⁵ See Ra-
guenet.

Diversity
of Opini-
ons.

What is
certain.

The Redu-
ction of
York.

N

But

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1642.

Rague-
net.
See like-
wise Pa-
ther Or-
leans.

Crom-
well's
great Ac-
tions in the
Battle.

His Birth,
his Ge-
nius, his
Fortune.

But we must not suppress the Glory which Oliver Cromwell Gain'd in this Battle, which was the occasion of the Reduction of those two Important Places : Altho' the French Historian that writes his Life, is not his Panegyrist, yet he cannot help Praising of him in this Place ; and speaking of him (as the other Historians do) as of an Extraordinary Man. I therefore cannot draw his Picture in a more proper Place than here, nor refer to another Conjunction, the Description which I think I am oblig'd to give of a Man, who from henceforth is to act so Considerable a Part in the History I am Writing.

It is certain, that Cromwell was in the Battle, in Quality of second Lieutenant General to the Earl of Manchester, Fairfax being the first ; and all Historians agree, that he distinguish'd himself by his Courage and Resolution, and relate Particulars that seem both Heroick and Wonderful. But before I enter on the Detail, it is necessary that I should let the Reader know, who this Bold Captain was, whose first Actions made so great a Noise ; and for whom Fortune began to plain the Way to the greatest Rise, that ever a private Person attain'd to.

His Birth was not so Mean and Obscure, as some report, who make him the Son of a Brewer. This piece of detraction took its Rise from his Mother's being left a Widow with several Children, and a small Estate, Buying a Brewhouse, which brought her in a Considerable Revenue ; and by no means reflected on her Husband, who was a Gentleman of Huntingtonshire, and call'd Richard Cromwell, the Son of Richard, who was Neptnew to the famous Thomas Cromwell, so much known by his Rise and Fall, under Henry the Eighth, whose Favourite and Victim he was. It was not however from this Minister of State, that

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that that our *Cromwell* was descended, but from his Sister, married to Sir —— *Williams*, who by this Marriage had *Richard*, who took the Name of his Uncle by the Mother's Side, more Illustrious at that Time than his own, by the great Employments to which Fortune had rais'd that Uncle, whose Name he still continued after his Disgrace. His Posterity had the same Love and Veneration for so Illustrious a Kinsman, and preferring his Blood to that of *Williams*, they made themselves ever after known by the Name of *Cromwell*. The Person whose Picture we are going to draw, was the third that bore that Name, being Grandson to that *Richard* who first took it, and Entail'd it on his Descendants. Such was the Descent of *Oliver Cromwell*, who was Born the 3d of April 1603, in *Huntington*, being of the *Williams's* Family Originally.

His Mother took Care of his Education, and he was brought up in *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, where he took his Degree of Master of Arts. His Thoughts were then wholly on Church Preferments, and finding that he had Merit enough in himself to attain them, he bent all his Cares, as well as his Ambition, to the pursuit of Ecclesiastical Dignities. He was back'd by the Affection which Bishop *Williams* shewed him, who was then Bishop of *Lincoln*, and not Archbishop of *York*, as the French Historian will have it: For he was not Translated to *York* till 1641. This Prelate, who had the King's Favour, acknowledged *Cromwell* for his Kinsman, and Encouraged him to continue his Studies, and his design of devoting himself to the Church. But that which *Cromwell* expected to be his Assistance, prov'd his Obstacle: *Williams's* Favour at Court, could not withstand

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^a Ex utro-
que Cæ-
sar.

stand Laud's, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was Disgrac'd and Banish'd, as we have seen, and his Misfortune occasion'd Cromwell's. Both of them recover'd it. Williams was afterwards made Archbishop of York, and Cromwell his Pupil, after having spent some Years in retirement amongst his Books, at last resolv'd to go into the Army. His Talent was not less to War than to Literature, *Equally Cæsar in both*; He was admir'd for a Great and Superior Genius, a Vast Fund of Wit, good Sense and Argument, join'd with Solid Eloquence, which occasion'd the saying, *That every Word that he spoke, was a Thing*. To this ready and ruling Eloquence, which drew the Parliaments and Armies to his Side, he added an Heroick Courage, an unshaken Resolution, and a Greatness of Soul, which the greatest Difficulties rather animated than discourag'd. Fortune had regard to his Merit, and made him her Favourite, so that he deserv'd the Title of *Fortunate*, more than *Sylla*, a Usurper like him of all Power; but not having the same Moderation that the *Roman* had, to strip himself of that Power. A Person of that Policy and Capacity, that no one could deceive him, still proceeding to his design'd end, and obliging all the World to Concur with him; Irreproachable in his Manners, and devout even to Ostentation. If his Devotion was but Hypocrisie, and if we must make the same Judgment of his Temperance, of his Compassion for the Unfortunate, of his Esteem for Virtue, his Application to the publick Weal, and lastly, of his Zeal for his Countrey and his Religion: We shall see it by the Sequel of the detail of his Actions; Perhaps they had remain'd doubtful, and perhaps too, the World had judg'd more favourably of him, if he had not Sacrific'd his King

King to his Ambition, under the pretence of Sacrificing him to the People's Safety ; and if the Horror of that Parricide did not deprive him of the Praises, which otherwise had been believ'd to be his due, for an Infinite Number of Heroick Exploits, which preceded and follow'd so detestable an Enterprize.

But excepting that, he appear'd with all those great Qualities that I have mention'd, in a Time full of Danger, or full of Fortune for him. He found the three Kingdoms all Flaming with mutual Hatred, on account of Party and Religion ; and it would haye prov'd a difficult undertaking to have endeavour'd to extinguish the Fire ; but in the midst of it, he found wherewithal to employ and gratifie his most unbounded Ambition.

I shall say nothing of his Amours with Major Lambert's Wife, which some Historians accuse him of, nor of the Intrigues which that Lady had with the Earl of Holland, nor of the Advice that was given to Cromwell thereof, and the Politick use he made of it, deceiving this Faithless Mistress who thought of betraying him ; and thereby disconcerted the Measures which his Enemies had taken with her. The Narrative is agreeable enough in the Historians that relate it ; but it has altogether the Air of a Romance, and the English who deserve the most Credit, both as to the Good and the Evil, that they say of Cromwell, make no manner of mention of this ; so that I don't in the least doubt, that the Relation is Fabulous ; Every part of this Captain's Character, seems Inconsistent with such an Intrigue. I know very well, that there was a Mixture of Love with as Great Qualities as his, in the Heart of Alcibiades, and of Julius Cesar ; but there was less Austerity in both the Greek

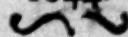
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What is reported of his amours, and what is to be believ'd of it.

Rague-
net.

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' Nani,

See like-

wife F.

Orleans.

He is made

Lieute-

nant Ge-

neral to

the Earl

of Man-

chester.

*His Fine
Actions at
the Battle
of York.*

and the *Roman*, than in the *Englishman*; and an Author who cannot be suspected on that Head, assures us, that if he had Great Vices, their Source was from Ambition, and not from Voluptuousness.

Whatever he was, and from what Source his Actions proceeded, whether he was sincerely affected to his Countrey and Religion, or whether he was a Cheat and a Hypocrite that only aim'd at Gratifying his own Ambition; yet at his first Appearance, he shew'd so great a Capacity and Courage, and at the same time so much Zeal and Modesty, that the Parliament thought that they could not make Choice of a Person that was more devoted to their Party, nor fitter to serve as Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Manchester*, than He. It was He that Gain'd all the Glory of the Battle of *York*, and it is He alone that deserves all the Praises of the Success, for his Valour and Conduct in that Action; the Particulars of which, I am going to relate.

He was wounded in the Right Arm, in the beginning of the Battle, and the Blood which he lost, oblig'd him to retire out of the Fight to have the Wound dress'd. It was not quite done, when he had notice of his Army's being Routed; he would scarce stay to let the Surgeon bind up his Arm; but Mounting his Horse immediately, he return'd against the Enemies, being less sensible of his Wound, than of the flight of his Men, turning his Thought only how to Rally them, and bring them back into the Battle; He met the Earl of *Manchester*, who could not Command the Fears of his Army, nor his own, but was flying with the rest. *Cromwell's* great Courage was not at all Surpriz'd, and his Breast glow'd with nothing but Indignation and Revenge. *My Lord*, said he, taking the Earl by the

the Arm, You are Mistaken, the Enemy are not
that Way, follow me, and I'll shew you where they
are. The Earl of Manchester was touch'd with
this deserv'd Reproach, and being ashamed to
fly whilst his Lieutenant fac'd the Enemy, he
turn'd about and follow'd him. Cromwell's re-
turn chang'd the Scene at once, for it is to him
that the Historians give the Glory of the Aci-
on; Some say, that Night coming on, the two
Armies lay in the Field, and that the Battle
being renew'd the next Day, Cromwell wrested
the Victory from the Royalists, who were not
able to dispute it with him longer than three
Hours. Others make him Gain it the first Day.
They say, that when he return'd from having
his Wound dress'd, finding the Army in disor-
der by the Fright, which General Leslie's Defeat
had occasion'd; He stood for some Moments and
observ'd what was doing on both Sides, and
perceiv'd that there was an equal Confusion
amongst both the Conquerors and Conquer'd;
but that there were some Brigades of his Army
that stood firm, and had not as yet been En-
gag'd. He did not at all Hesitate to put him-
self at their Head, and charging with these fresh
Troops, into whom his own Prowess Inspir'd
new Courage; He attack'd the Enemy so brisk-
ly, whom Victory had made Careless of keeping
their Ranks, that this unexpected Turn, entire-
ly broke them. Prince Rupert Irritated at this
Misfortune, laid the blame on the Marquis of
Newcastle, and it was then according to these
Authors, that he fell into a Passion, as I have
mention'd. His Passion occasion'd the King's
losing the Marquis, and his Lieutenant Gen-
eral King, who retir'd to Scarborough, and Em-
bark'd there in a Ship, which carry'd them to

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ex LIBRIS

J. M. G.

Prince
Rupert's
Passion.

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My Lord
Claren-
don.

Hamburgh. The Loss of these two Persons, was a very Considerable one to the King, and particularly the Loss of the Earl, whom the English Historian represents, as one of the Worthiest, and most Aimable Lords of the Kingdom, both for his Sincerity and Affection to the King; and his Courage, and a Thousand other good Qualities. It is a pity that his Love for Polite Literature, for Poetry and Musick, would not suffer him to use all the Application, which his Post of General requir'd, and made him prefer Retirement and Ease to the Noise and Embarrass of that Employment. These soft Inclinations, Contributed as much, as the Prince's Haughtiness, to his retiring out of the Kingdom; but that Haughtiness occasion'd the King's losing another Officer, one *Hurry*, who not being able to digest the Indignities of the Prince, went over to the Parliamentarians.

The Prince is very much blam'd, and with Reason by all for his Passion; but he is Prais'd for his Courage, and if he had been better sustain'd, perhaps he had turn'd the Victory on his Side. For it was not till after he had made several Efforts, which shew'd an Extraordinary Valour, that he was forc'd to give way to a Captain more Valiant, or more Fortunate than He.

Such was the first Action of Cromwell's Generalship, That Man so Fatal to the Royalty. His first Battle was distinguish'd with a Triumph, which was altogether owing to his own Conduct and Intrepidity; and for the Future, we shall see his Valour always Successful, and Victory abandoning the King's Arms, only to March before his Banners.

Whilst the Parliamentarians obtain'd these Advantages in the North, the King Ballanc'd the

Oblig'd to
give way.

the Success in the East, where he Commanded his Armies in Person, and found not that formidable Enemy in the Earl of Essex, that Prince Rupert found in Cromwell. This Generalissimo, threaten'd to Besiege Exeter, where the Queen was retir'd to Lye in, and where on the 10th of June, she was deliver'd of that Princess Henrietta, who was afterwards Duchess of Orleans, so Fam'd for her Wit and Beauty, and which Gain'd her, perhaps, but too many Adorers at the Court of France. The Queen being uneasy at the Town's being threaten'd with a Siege, left it in the beginning of July, and retir'd to Pendennis Castle; but not thinking herself safe enough there, she Embark'd soon after for France. She did not get there without Danger, the Ship she was in was discover'd by Vice Admiral Bar, who gave her Chace into Brest, and did not quit her without Firing several Vollies of Shot, in order to sink her. But without doing any Damage, and the Queen Landed the 15th of July, at Chastel near Brest, and pursued her Journey by Land to Paris; where she was received by the Young King her Nephew, and by the Queen Regent, with all the Honours due to her Rank. When she was on Board, her Hatred, or her Fears were so Great, that she order'd the Captain of her Ship to kill her, rather than deliver her up to the English.³

Nevertheless the King was resolv'd not to lose Exeter, and therefore he endeavour'd to prevent the Siege. He enter'd Somersetshire, and from thence March'd thro' Cornwall, and into Devonshire (of which County Exeter is the Chief City) and forc'd the Parliament General to fly before him. The King push'd him to the Point of Cornwall, and in Sight of Plymouth, where

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Princess
Henriet-
ta Born.

⁴ In Corn-
wall.

The Queen
retires to
France.

Victories
by the
King.

³ See the
History of
Henriet-
ta Maria,
Printed at
Paris.

some

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1644.

2 The 11th
of Sep-
tember.

The Earl
of Essex,
desires to
lay down
the Gene-
ralship.

³ My Lord
Claren-
don places
this Event
1643, af-
ter the
taking of
Bristol.

* At Lon-
don on
the 23d of
Decem-
ber.

The Par-
liament
oblige
him to
continue.

He lays
down.

Fairfax
succeeds
him, and
Crom-
well is
made his
Lieute-
nant.

some say, - that the General Frighted, took Boat and fled to the Town, whilst his Horse sav'd themselves by Skirmishing, and his Foot laid down their Arms.

This Rout was follow'd by the taking of Ilfordcombe, Barnstable, and Mountmouth, which return'd to the King's Subjection ; and very little was wanting of Plymouth's Falling into his Majesty's Hands, by the Intrigues of Sir Alexander Carew ; ³ but they were discover'd, and he lost his Head ⁴.

The Earl of Essex being return'd to London, was Inconsoleable for his unfortunate Campaigne, begg'd the Parliament, that they would permit him to lay down his Commission, and Exhorted them to make Choice of a more Fortunate General. They had a great deal of Compassion for his Misfortune, and instead of Upbraiding him, or shewing any Marks of their Discontent, they endeavour'd to comfort and pity him. They told him, That they were not so unjust, as to make him answerable for Events ; that a General was only accountable for Faults, and not for Misfortunes ; that they were satisfy'd with his Conduct, and pray'd him to continue his Post. He Consented, but Fortune still favouring the King, where-ever Cromwell was not, the Commons began to Murmur at the ill Success of the other Generals, and the Earl of Essex, being unwilling to Expose himself to their Insults and Reproaches, laid down his Generalship in the beginning of the Year following ; Sir Thomas Fairfax succeeded him, and they gave him the famous Cromwell for his Lieutenant, or rather Colleague, as I shall speak of in its Place. But before we look into the declining of the King's Affairs, by the fatal Arms of that General ; let us look into the Successes which his Majesty obtain'd

tain'd at the Head of his Troops, feconded by Prince Rupert, and Maurice his Nephews, and by the Exploits of Montrose in Scotland.

Whilst the King reduc'd Cornwall and Devonshire, the Earl of Northampton and Sir Gage, rais'd the Siege of Banbury in Oxfordshire, and drove the Parliamentarians from thence. The Earl of Essex was then at London, and the Parliament who would not suffer him to lay down the Generalship, as I have said before, sent the Earl of Manchester to Command in those Parts against the Royalists; but he was not more successful than Essex.

The King quitted Cornwall and Devonshire, in order to draw near to Oxford, which he had made his Place of Arms; and enter'd Berkshire, in which County Newbury is, which was already famous for the Battle fought there, on the 19th of September 1643, of which each Party arrogated to themselves the Victory. And it was again famous for the Engagements that happen'd there in November 1644. On the 6th of November, the Earl of Manchester attack'd the King, who was Encamp'd under the Walls of Newbury; the Battle was Obstinate on both Sides, and each Party in their turn had the Advantage, but not decisive. The King retir'd, and the Enemy took the Town; but the Castle held out. The King return'd thither on the 19th of November, and that Day and the next, there was warm Skirmishing; but they either could not, or would not come to a general Engagement. Cromwell accus'd the Earl of Manchester in full Parliament, of Cowardice and Treason, and the Earl retorted the Accusation; but it proceeded no farther, and this Dispute was the occasion of the Act for laying down of Offices.

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My Lord Clarendon says, that the Earl of Essex laid down in Obedience to an Act of the two Houses, for the laying down of Offices. The Sequel of the King's Victories: Engagements between the King's and the Parliament's Armies.

Cromwell accuses the Earl of Manchester of not doing his Duty. The Ordinance for laying down of Offices.

This

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This Act is Considerable enough in this History, to deserve a particular Explanation. The famous Historian of those Times, who dwells the most on it, tells us, that it was a Project which the Independant Party had laid some Time before, with design to get the Upper-hand, and to put in Generals that were devoted to their Party, not only in the Room of the Earl of Essex; but likewise of the Earl of Manchester, and of Cromwell himself. But the latter found the Means of getting that Party on his Side, and afterwards to Raisle himself above all. So that far from opposing the Ordinance for laying down of Offices, they help'd (as much as possible) the passing of the Act by the two Houses of Parliament, about the latter end of this Year.

The King
comes to
Oxford.

On the 3d of December, the King return'd to Oxford, where he renew'd the Conferences for a Peace; but without Success, as I shall relate hereafter, when I have given an account of Montrose's Expedition into Scotland.

Montrose
his Elo-
giump, and
his Ex-
ploits in
Scotland.

Who
Reign'd
in the be-
ginning
of the 5th
Century.

This famous General was of the Graham's Family, one of the Antieatest of Scotland, allied, as some Historians say, to that of the first Kings of that Kingdom, by the Marriage of a Son of Graham More, to a Daughter of Fergus'. This General, I say, was more illustrious for his own Personal Virtues, than by his Birth. He had, as I have said already, the Command of the Scotch Army before the Covenant; but he could by no means relish the Confederacy of that Kingdom with the English Parliament against the King. He therefore abandon'd the Confederate Army, when he was but Thirty Years Old, and came to the King at the unfortunate Siege of

of Gloucester'. He made an offe^t of his Service to the King, which he accepted of, and by then propos'd Means to him, how to bring the Scots again under his Majesty's Subjection. The King's Affairs at that Time, would not suffer him to give the Attention to those Proposals, that they deserv'd ; they were therefore refer'd to be Examin'd, at a more Convenient Time and Place. It was at Oxford, that they were taken again into Consideration, when the King retir'd there, after the Battle of Newbury, which was on the 19th of September 1643. Montrose was surpriz'd to see Duke Hamilton at Qxford, whom he believ'd to be in the Enemy's Interests, and it was upon his Accusation, that the Duke was sent Prisoner to Pendennis-Castle. But he does not at present come on the Stage. Montrose met at Oxford, a Subject of the King's, that was much more to his liking ; this was the Marquis of Antrim, from whom he expected to receive Mighty Advantages in the Execution of his Design. He Explain'd the whole to the King, who at that Time heard him with great Attention, and approv'd of the whole Plan ; The Plan was in a few Words this, as I have Extracted it from the three Historians that are to be Credited ;

Montrose let the King know, that his safety consisted in making himself Master of Scotland, before that the Covenant Army should joynt the English Parliamentarians. That the reducing of the latter, depended on the subduing of the first ; and that the Subjection of Scotland would lead him, as it were by the Hand, to that of England. This way of Reasoning was Just ; but the difficulty was how to put it in Execution. Montrose Engaged to subdue Scotland, provided two Things were Granted him ; these were not Men nor Money, for he knew very well, that

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My Lord

Claren-

don,

Rush-

worth,

Menter,

Salmonet.

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Anno
1644.

The Por-
traiture
of the
Marquis
of An-
trim.

* The Fa-
mily Name
is Man-
nore.

The Sue-
cours that
be sends
to Mont-
rose.

the King could furnish him with neither. He only demanded, i. A Commission in Form, and, 2. That the Marquis of *Antrim*, should be Engaged to return back to *Ireland*, and to send him Troops, which Troops join'd to the Scotch Royalists, would be sufficient to put his Bold and Daring Project in Execution ; we must let the Reader know, who the Marquis of *Antrim* was.

His Family Name was *Mac Donnel*, Originally Highlanders of *Scotland*, but transplanted into *Ireland*, where his Quality and Great Estate render'd him very Powerful. The Person I am speaking of, had not Merit equal to his Birth and Fortune, but he was Married to a Lady of Great Worth. This was the Duke of *Buckingham's* Widow ; this Lady, who was very Rich, and of the *Rusland* * Family, which was no ways Inferior to the *Mac Donnels*, was a Lady of Vast Wit, and at the same time of Vast Ambition : All her Talents were employ'd to set off her Husband, who with abundance of Vanity, had but a very slender Genius. At first, he had not the Title of Marquis, it was his Lady that procur'd it for him ; and to demonstrate his Gratitude, there was nothing that he did not promise the King. He had already given *Montrose* Assurances, that he would send him Ten Thousand Men from *Ireland*, and *Montrose* depended upon having a good part of that Number. But he was mistaken, and notwithstanding *Antrim's* boasts, he had but very little Interest in his Countrey ; and tho' he was a *Papist*, and what is more, had Engag'd in the Rebel's League, he was but very little esteem'd. And besides, the Marquis of *Ormond* hated him, and could not endure that he should come to take away the Troops, which he believ'd he should have occasion for himself. So that being return'd to *Ireland*,

land, in order to perform the fine Promises which he had made to Montrose ; All that he could gather together, were only Fifteen Hundred Men, which he sent to him under the Command of his Brother *Alexander Mac Donnel*, who Landed with them at the Foot of the Highlands, where Montrose was already arriv'd.

Montrose had with him only about Eight Hundred Men, which the Duke of Athol had brought him, and about Five Hundred more, with *Kilmount Son* to the Earl of *Menteith* at their Head. All together scarce made up Three Thousand Men, and these for the most part, were New Soldiers and downright Militia ; but under such a General they all knew how to Fight, and he Inspir'd them with as much Courage and Discipline, as the most Veteran Troops. It was then, that he publish'd his Commission of General for the King, and with this little Army, he was not afraid to Face the Enemy, and even to Pursue and Gain very Glorious Victories.

I have already related what he did with the Troops, that the Marquis of Newcastle had lent him ; and how he took *Dumfries* before he join'd the Troops from *Ireland* : Let us now look into what was done afterwards, and what Perils he expos'd himself to, to receive these Succours, and to March afterwards to those Battles and Victories which I have mention'd.

Greedy of Glory, and being wholly devoted to the King, he ran thro' many strange Adventures, after he had made himself Master of *Dumfries*, and that his Army had abandon'd him on the Banks of the River *Annan*. His design, ^{He only} was to join the Marquis of *Antrim* in *Scotland*, sent his Brother with a small Number of the Troops.

Anno
1644.

Mont-
rose pub-
lishes his
Commission
of General
for the
King.

Anno
1644.



the Frontier Counties ; it had been a piece of Rashness in him, to undertake so dangerous a March. He therefore sent Spies before-hand, to know if the Ways were practicable, and what News they had of the Marquis of Antrim; They brought him back Word, that they could learn nothing of the Marquis of Antrim ; and that it seem'd to them impossible, to take any Post in a Countrey that was full of the Marquis of Argyle's Soldiers, or to attempt it without being undone. On their report, he put off that Enterprize till a more favourable Conjunction, and joining again the English that had aban- don'd him ; He help'd them to retake from the Covenanters, Morpits Castle, and another Fort of Importance, at the Mouth of the Tynne, which was like a Thorn in the Foot of Newcastle, which the King was then in Possession of .

** It was not taken from the King till after the Battle of York.*

** I have follow'd Salmonet in all this relation, from whom the others differ only in some Circumstances.*

Montrose did not design to spend his Time in Conquests of so little Importance, a greater Project still inclin'd him towards Scotland ; and being no longer Master of his Impatience, he departed about the middle of August, having only two Gentlemen with him ; and arriv'd the 22d of that Month at Perth, where he remain'd Conceal'd in the House of the Faithful Inchbraky, his Intimate Friend . There he receiv'd Letters, advising him of the Arrival of the Irish in the Highlands of Scotland, Commanded by Sir Alexander Mac Donnel, whom the Marquis of Antrim his Brother had sent from Ireland. These Troops made up only about Fifteen Hundred Men, to which the Earl of Arbol join'd Eight Hundred ; Kilpunt the Earl of Merchie's Son Five Hundred : So that the whole, as I have said, did not amount to Three Thousand, and they too, without Cannon, or Horse, and but indifferent- ly provided with Arms and Ammunition. Ne- verthelels,

Vertheless, with such Troops as these, and so small a Number, *Montrose* did not omit Marching against the Enemy, Incomparably stronger, and much better Arm'd. Their Army consisted of Seven Thousand Foot, and Eight Hundred Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, the Earl of *Wiem's* Eldest Son; He likewise brought down Nine Pieces of Cannon; the Firing of which was to begin the Battle; what was still more disadvantageous, *Montrose* was oblig'd to Engage in a Plain on *Newbigging Lands*, where the *Covenanter's* Army drawn up in Line of Battle, waited the coming down of the little *Irish* and *Highland* Army, which they believ'd would be easily defeated. They were mistaken, and *Montrose*, after making a short Speech, to animate his People, Encourag'd them so well by his own Example, that Fury and Courage supply'd the Place of Numbers, and of Arms which they wanted; and after having stood the Cannonade, they fell on with so much Fury, that they broke the Ranks, so that the Horse could not Rally, but all were in Disorder and Confusion. The Valiant General of the Royalists, made the best Advantage of their Disorder, and continuing to Encourage his People, both with his Words and Actions; He pursued this first Success with so much Vigour, that he Gained a Compleat Victory. Two Thousand of the *Covenanters*, fell by the Arms of the Conquerors, who did not loose a single Man, and had but two Men wounded; which can scarce be Credited, if all Historians did not agree to the Truth of the Fact, of which there is scarce an Example to be found in History. The Cannon and Baggage fell into the *Victor's* Hands, and *Perth*, which *Montrose* came into in Disguise, and went from in the same manner, to put himself at the Head of his little Army, open'd the Gates to him as to her Conqueror.

Anno
1642.

Mont-
rose's lit-
tle Army.

Defeated
the Cova-
nenters
who are
much more
Numerous.

Perth
opens its
Gates.

Anno 1645. This Town lying on the Tay, and one of the finest in North Scotland, was of great Importance to the Royalists, but the General did not confine his Conquests to that ; he March'd into Angus and Marss, won a second Battle from the Covenanters, and made himself Master of Aberdeen. He won a third on the other side of the famous Gramp Mountain, which he cross'd near to Feimey Castle ; from thence he extended his Army in the Lochquabacre, and in the Marquis of Argyle's Lands, where he took up his Winter Quarters. Some Historians add to these Battles, the Battles of Alford and Alderne, and say likewise, that he reduced the Country of Athol in North Scotland, and Fife in the South, to the King's Obedience : But these two Battles were not fought till the next Year, and we shall take notice of them in their order : We must for some time suspend the Narrative of the Wars of Scotland, and return to the Sequel of the Wars of England.

1645.
History of
the Civil
Wars, by
my Lord
Claren-
don.

They were carried on successfully enough on the King's side, till the fatal Day of Næsby : The Successes that happen'd before that Battle, were preceded by the Conferences at Uxbridge, and by the Execution of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; these are two famous Events which must be related. The King, after the End of the Campaign, 1644, retir'd to Oxford, and was more uneasy for the Loss of the Battle of Cork and its fatal Consequences, than he was satisfied with the Success and Progress of his Arms in England and Scotland ; and being divided betwixt Hope and Fear, he seem'd to be inclinable to Peace. The Difficulty lay, how to find out proper Expedients ; the Duke of Richmond believ'd he had found out the means, and procur'd a Conference between the two Parties at Uxbridge, a little Town in Middlesex, about fifteen

fifteen Miles from London, which was the Place pitch'd upon for the Meeting. All Parties concern'd sent their Deputies thither; the King, the Parliament at Westminster, and the Scotch Covenanters: These Deputies were of different Characters, some Divines and others Statesmen, in regard of the Matters both of Religion and Government, which were to be discuss'd before them. All the Deputies came to Uxbridge on the 29th of January, and the Conferences were open'd the next Day, but they had been propos'd from the 23d of November 1644. It is upon that Account, that I place the Conferences before the Arch-bishop's Execution, which was on the 10th of January.

If what some Historians say is true, the Conferences began after a manner, that does a great deal of Honour to Cromwell, and gives us a great Idea of the Courage and Eloquence of the Man, that could lead all those that heard him into his Sentiments whenever he pleas'd.
³ He was appointed one of the Deputies of the House of Commons, of which he was a Member; and he appear'd there in an Equipage equally suited to a Man of the Sword, and of the Church: As a Soldier, he had a Buff-Coat and a Sword by his side; and as a Divine, he had a little Band, his Hair cut close to his Ears, and a little Bible under his Arm. If this Figure surpriz'd the Company, they were much more surpriz'd at his Speech; every one had taken his Place, and the Conferences were just going to be open'd, when he, standing up, said loudly, That the Affairs they were about were of that Consequence, that they ought first to invoke the Holy Ghost, to preside over their Debates, and kneeling at the same time, he made a Prayer; this was a bold Action, but as it seem'd to be warranted by Piety, no Body oppos'd it;

Anno

1645.

Rush-
worth,
Mentet
Salmo-
ner, Ra-
guenor,
F. Or-
leans.

*The King
enclin'd to
Peace.
Confer-
rence at
Uxbridge*

Rague,
not, and
some o-
thers.

*The best
Historians
make no
mention of
his being
nominated
The great
part that
Crom-
well acted
there.*

*The
Strength
and
Quickness
of his Go-
nials.*

Anno
1645.



and the Prayer of this zealous Protestant, whether it was Sincere or Hypocritical, was accounted Admirable, and charm'd all the Auditors: A fatal Prelude this of the Ascendant which he took from that Time, and which he continued to gain more and more over the Minds of the People, and the Affairs of the State, and of the Church.

The Vivacity and Strength of *Cromwell's* superior Genius, did not only shew it self in this Enthusiasm, as some Stile his Prayer, but it appear'd in all the Conferences; and they say, That the other Deputies took so great a Pleasure in hearing him speak, that they seem'd enchanted; they said, that no Body spoke of Matters of War and Religion, with greater Eloquence and Solidity than he. However, I question very much, this bold Action of *Cromwell's*, and if it is true, it must necessarily have been in some other Conference than this; for the most famous Historians, that give us the Relation of this at *Uxbridge*, make no manner of mention of this pretended Deputy.³

³ My Lord
Claren-
don,
Rush-
worth.
They can-
not agree
about E-
piscopacy.

These Conferences, which were limited to Twenty Days, had no Success. The first thing debated was Episcopacy, the fatal Rock on which the Court had struck, and on which it struck once more; the Scotch Deputies, with whom those from the English Parliament join'd, demanded, that Episcopacy should be abolish'd; the King's Deputies refus'd to consent thereunto, but they propos'd a Medium, which was to retain Episcopacy, but to regulate the Power and Jurisdiction. To make the Bishops dependent on the Colloquies, for the Ordination of Ministers and for the Exercise of the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and on the two Houses of Parliament, for the reforming of Abuses that might creep into their Monitories, or other Acts of that

that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. The Expedient was accepted of by the Parliaments Deputies; but the Scots rejected it, and insisted on the Absolute Suppression of Episcopacy and of the Liturgy: Thus the two Kingdoms were divided on this Point; but even England agreed with the King, rather to Mutilate than to preserve Episcopacy.

If they could not agree about Matters of Religion, they agreed less about Matters of State *Nor about other Affairs.* and of War. The Parliaments Deputies insisted, that the two Houses should have the disposal of the principal Posts in the Militia, of the Government of Places, and above all, of the Tower, the only means, said they, to preserve the State and Religion; but at the same time, it was the way to destroy the Royal Authority, and to leave the Prince only a Fantom of Royalty. The King's Deputies were far from agreeing to Sign such Demands which were so prejudicial and injurious to the Majesty of the Sovereign, and therefore rejected them with Indignation.

The War of Ireland was likewise brought on the Stage; the Cessation of Arms granted by the King to the Irish Rebels, and the Audience which he gave to their Deputies, occasion'd the bringing that Affair into Question at this Juncture: *What, cried the Parliaments Deputies, to admit Deputies from the Rebels into the Presence of his Majesty, and to scruple to revoke the Suspension of Arms, which ought not to have been granted, contrary to an Act of Parliament! Is not this to trample on the Laws, in favour of the most odious and detestable Treason that was ever perpetrated?* I shall by and by speak more at large of that Cessation of Arms, and of the Consequences of it; but let us first see what Answer the King's Commissioners made to the Complaint of the

The Parliament exclaims against the Truce granted to the Irish P- pists.

Anno Parliament Deputies ; it was every bit as sharp
1645. as their Declaration.

*The King's
Reasons
for it.*

The Safety of the People, answer'd they, is the supreme Law ; the King had no other way, to save the Protestants in Ireland, who were ready to be destroy'd by the Fury of a powerful Enemy, and the two Houses ought to impute it to the Necessity that they reduced the King to, which forc'd him to grant the Cessation of Arms, which they now make a Crime of. If they had granted the necessary Succours to suppress and punish the Rebels, which he so often solicited them to do, he had not then been necessitated to negotiate a Truce with them ; but for want of the Parliaments assisting him to carry on the War against them, his Majesty thought it was necessary to put a stop to their Hostilities and Invasions, by that Treaty.

The English Parliamentarians, and the Scotch Covenanters, were not satisfied with these Reasons, and insisted, That the Cessation should be declared Null, and that the War should be continued without delay, by the common Advice of the two Kingdoms. This was what the King's Commissioners could not consent to, their Master not willing to Dishonour himself by breaking his Word with the Irish ; nor to degrade himself, by putting the Sword, and the Power of making War into the Hands of his Subjects. This last Article related to the Militia, which the Two Houses insisted to have in their Power.

*The Con-
ferences
end, and
each Party
separates
highly
dissatisfied
with the
other.*

Thus ended the Conferences at Uxbridge without any Success, or any one Article being agreed to, that was Debated in the Twenty Days of the Conference ; so that they parted very much dissatisfied with each other, and with more Diffidence, more Bitterness and Hatred of both sides, than they brought with them.

As

As the Affairs of Ireland in a great Measure contributed to this Misunderstanding, and that the Cessation of Arms, or the Truce granted by the King to Irish Papists, augmented the Parliaments Uneasiness and Suspicions : It is necessary to unfold this Event, by relating what happen'd before and after that Cessation ; and to do it with that exactness and clearness that is requisite on this important Point of the History that I am Writing. I am obliged to take up the Sequel of the Troubles of that Kingdom, which I had suspended from the Time of the Massacre in October 1641.

The Massacre was a terrible one, and England was never so likely to lose that Kingdom as at that Juncture ; but whether it was, that the Rebels were more frighten'd than encouraged at their Crime, when they came to reflect on it, or whether they were not well united among themselves, and but ill-disciplin'd ; which ever of these two was the Cause, they worth, rather chose to have recourse to the King's Clemency, than pursue their Rebellion farther.

But this was not till after they had met with several Shocks in their Enterprizes. They miscarried at the Siege of Drogheda, a Town situate about three Miles from the Sea, and not far from Dublin. The Siege was begun in November 1641, and lasted till the 4th of March 1642, at which time, my Lord Moore rais'd the Siege, having first beaten O'Neals and O'Bryan, who had reduced the Town to the last extremity.

Not satisfied with this fine Action, and notwithstanding that the Season of the Year was very improper to keep the Field, he March'd, the 21st of the same Month, with Sir Harry Titchburn, and a small Body of One Thousand Foot and Two Hundred Horse. On the 23d he

*Exploits
of my Ld
Moore.*

Anno
1645

*And of the
Marquis
of Or-
mond a-
gainst the
Irish.*

** At Kil-
rash.*

*The Mag-
nanimity
of Let-
tice Of-
fallia.*

came nigh Dun-Dalk, defeated the Rebels that oppos'd him, and, on the 26th, took the Town by Assault.

In the beginning of April, the Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant General of the English Forces, likewise took the Field at the Head of Three Hundred Horse and Three Thousand Foot; but even this little Army was still less'd by the Garrisons that he was forc'd to leave in some Places: But this did not prevent the General's Marching boldly towards the Enemy, who were Eight Thousand Men strong, and to give them Battle on the 15th of April¹, and gain a complete Victory. The Enemy lost Five Hundred Men, and amongst them their principal Officers, Twenty Colours, their Cannon, and all their Provisions; and this cost the Victors no more than Twenty Men kill'd, and Forty wounded.

Whilst these Things were transacting, a Body of the Rebels came to Besiege Geshel Castle in the County of Kilkenny. A Woman, to whom the Castle belong'd, was shut up in it; but that Woman was an Heroine, that was determin'd to defend it to the last Extremity: Her Name was Lettice Offallia, of the Ancient Family of Kildare, and was of the King's Party, tho' most of her Relations were at the Head of the Rebels. The Dempsey's were of that number, and wrote her a Letter by way of Summons, to deliver up the Castle on honourable Conditions. On her Refusal, they threaten'd her to put all to Fire and Sword; but she only laugh'd at them: *Cousin*, says she to Harry Dempsey, to whom she directed the Answer, *I thank you for your Offers, which I cannot accept of, being resolved to do my Duty, which is dearer to me than my Life; but I am surpriz'd that you neglect yours, and that you have forgotten that you are the King's*

*King's Subjects, and that I am your Country Woman
and Relation.* Heaven would not suffer so gene-
rous a Lady to be destroy'd, but sent her a De-
liverer, my Lord Sidney, Viscount Lisle, Eldest
Son to the Earl of Leicester, who came to her
Relief, and oblig'd the Rebels to raise the
Siege.

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1645.

I omit several particular Actions, wherein each Party had in their turn different Success, and I come to the Act of the Papist Clergy, that pass'd in their Convocation held at Kilkenny, the 13th of May, in form of a Confederacy, containing the Motives that induc'd them to that League; the Means propos'd to succeed therein; and a Resolution to hazard all, to put their great Design in Execution. In the beginning, they made Protestations of their Fidelity and Zeal for the Catholick Religion of their Country: They said, they took up Arms only to deliver their Majesties from the Oppression of the English Parliamentarians, and to restore their Religion and Liberties which had been wrested from them: Therefore in the 22d Article of this Confederacy, they propos'd to send Ambassadors to the Courts of France, of Spain, of Vienna, and to the Pope, to demand their Guarantee and Assistance. The other Articles related to Orders that were necessarily to be observed for the Subsistence of their Forces, and the Preservation of their Towns, and to their Resolution, not to lay down their Arms till they had extirpated the Enemies of their Country and Religion. The Act was Sign'd by Twenty Eight Ecclesiasticks, several of which gave themselves the Titles of Bishops and Archbishops.

To oppose this Torrent, the Lords Justices publish'd the King's Declaration of the 9th of September,

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September, by which it was order'd, That all the Papists of the Kingdom should be disarm'd, and they caus'd it to be put in Execution in all Places, where any regard was had to the Royal Authority.

*The Pope's
Brief.*

His Bull.

1643.

But *Rome* was not idle in this Conjunction; first of all came the Pope's Letters, (*Urban the 8th*) dated the 8th of October, to *O'Neale* and his Accomplices, to felicitate them on their Holy and Couragious Undertaking; exhorting them to continue with Constancy, and for their Encouragement, granting them plenary Indulgence for all their Sins. This Letter or Brief was follow'd by the Bull of the 25th of May 1643, at the Head of it were these Words, *An Indulgence for the War against the Heretics of Ireland*: The Pope, upon this occasion, open'd his whole Treasure of Indulgence with Profession, to all those that signaliz'd themselves in so Holy an Enterprize; that is, to all the Incendiaries, Murderers, Hangmen, and Executio-ners of the English, and the Protestants.

Not only *Rome*, but the Courts of *France* and *Spain* encouraged the *Irish* Papists in their Re-bellion, and had their Agents amongst them who kept it up, and promised them Assistance from their Masters. My Lord *Clarendon* says, that such Assistance was sent them from Time to Time, and that the Assembly at *Kilkenny*, which represented all the *Irish* Papists, was not mistaken in relying upon Protection from the Courts Abroad.

*The Mar-
quis of
Ormond
puzzled
what to
do.*

The Marquis of *Ormond*, who as yet only took on him the Character of Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in *Ireland*, was very much puzzled how to proceed, notwithstanding some Success which he had gain'd; but that Success was not enough to raise the good *Cause*, and make

make it Triumphant : The Rebellion was too powerful, it was spread over more than two Thirds of the Kingdom, and those Parts that had escaped it, wanted Provisions and Ammunition, as well as Officers and Soldiers ; so that Misery was generally amongst the Forces, and the People both in the Towns and Country : They applied to, and press'd, sometimes the King and sometimes the Parliament, to send them Succours proportion'd to their Necessity ; but their Diffidence and Divisions (as I have said before) hinder'd them from providing for the Necessities of a Foreign Kingdom, whilst they were too much employed about their own. The Parliament was solely sollicitous, for the Preservation of their Liberties and Religion, which they were apprehensive were designed to be oppress'd ; and the King bent his Thoughts wholly how to maintain Episcopacy and his own Prerogative, both which he saw declining every Day. We have already seen to what an Extremity these furious Jealousies were pursued : They were not indeed come to that fatal Period, at the beginning of the Troubles of *Ireland* ; but they were then come already to that height, that it was impossible for the Parliament and for the King, who were weaken'd by the Troubles of *England* and *Scotland*, to give the necessary Assistance to that Kingdom. Besides, the King had Thoughts, rather how to secure the *Irish* Rebels to his Interests, than to destroy them, in order to make use of them himself against the Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, as he did not scruple to express himself.

The King was in this sad Condition, when he received the Address which the *Irish* Papists (who now were more Distasted than Exasperated at what had pass'd) had presented to the

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*An Ad-
dress from
the Irish
Papists.*

Mar.

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1645.

Marquis of Ormond, and the Marquis sent to the King. It was very short, and only contained their most humble Prayers to his Majesty, to appoint Commissioners to whom they might make known what they had to say in their own Defence, in order that the same might be afterwards reported to his Majesty; to whom, they said they had preserv'd and would always preserve inviolable Fidelity and Obedience. This Address did not displease the King, whose Thoughts were now bent on a Ceſſation of the War; and to that purpose he wrote to the Marquis of Ormond, directing him to proceed in it effectually. His Letter of the 29th of April, was soon after followed by a Second of the 3d of May; so intent was he on this Affair.

The King thinks of a Ceſſation in Ireland.

A Letter from the Lords Justices of Ireland.

** Their Letter of the 11th of May is related by Clarendon and Rushworth.*

Sent to the Parliament. Who order the Continuance of the War.

Some few Days after, the Lords Justices of Ireland^{*} wrote to the King, representing the extreme Misery that the Army and all the Protestants of Ireland were reduc'd to; and that till then, there had not been Succours enough sent them to prevent their perishing by Hunger, much less to put them in a Condition to suppress the Enemy; begging, that his Majesty would immediately send them Soldiers and Provisions from England, if he design'd that they should not perish. The King sent the Letter to the Parliament, and the two Houses made an Ordinance on the 16th of June, to engage all England to concur in the Assistance and Defence of the Protestants of Ireland, and to continue the War with Vigour. To that end, a Committee was appointed, which they call'd the Committee of Adventurers, because that the Money that was to be brought in, bore as large Interest as Money lent on Bottomry; for the Payment of which Interest and Principal, the publick Faith of the Nation

Nation stood engag'd. The Committee spent the whole Month of June about Ways and Means, but notwithstanding all their Diligence, the Necessity was too urgent to admit of a longer Delay; and the Lords Justices of Ireland being authoriz'd by the King's Letter of the 2d of July, enter'd on a Treaty for a Cessation, which they could delay no longer, and which was very much desir'd by the Irish Papists; either in order to take Breath, or else to secure their Invasions, and enjoy with greater Security the Liberty and Independance, that they had gain'd. With this view it was, that on the 20th of June, in the Assembly at Kilkenny, they expedited their Commission directed to their Plenipotentiaries, to conclude a Treaty with the Marquis of Ormond, and all Parties met at Siggins Town in the County of Kildare, in order to negotiate it.

So far the King's Conduct on the Account of the Cessation, does not seem to deserve to be so odiously cried down, as it was by the Two Houses at Westminster, as we have seen already; but there is a Letter of the 7th of September, written by the King to the Lords Justices of Ireland, which spoils all, at least gave Grounds to the Complaints of the two Houses, and notwithstanding all that the King's own Historian can say, it is difficult to put a good Gloss on it. In that Letter, the King repeats very pressingly his Orders to conclude the Treaty of Cessation with the Rebels, and the Reason which he gives for it is, That he has occasion for the Troops of Ireland, to serve against the Rebel Army of the English and Scotch Parliamentarians; for which Reason he desires, that as soon as the Treaty is concluded, the Troops should be brought over to reinforce his Army.

It

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1645.

A Com-
mittee of
Adven-
turers.

Both Par-
ties in
Ireland
wth for
Peace.

A Letter
from the
King to
the Lords
Justices of
Ireland.

Ld Cla-
rendon.

4401

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1645.

*What the
King's
Conduct
was, in
relation to
the Irish
Papists.
The Treaty
of the
Cessation
of Arms.*

*Rejected by
the Parlia-
ment.*

1644.

It is certain, that if we suppose the two Nations were in Rebellion, then the unhappy Means which the King was oblig'd to, are to be imputed to them ; but the two Houses were far from agreeing to the Truth of that Allegation ; and besides, how must we interpret the Power which he gave to the Marquis of Antrim, one of the Chiefs of the Irish Papists, to bring over their Forces into Scotland, to join those which the Marquis of Montrose Commanded against the Scotch Covenanters ? be that as it will, for I shall determine on neither Side. The Treaty of Cessation was concluded on the 5th of September, by which all Hostilities were to cease for a Year, and each Party was left in Possession of what they then had, with some small Exception ; and this Treaty was publish'd in Dublin on the 19th, with the usual Ceremonies.

The Treaty did not remedy the Evil : On the 30th of September, the two Houses publish'd their Resolution, that the Treaty was fatal to the Religion and Liberties of the three Kingdoms in General, and of Ireland in Particular. To which, that is to say, to the Protestant Party in that Kingdom, they promis'd to send immediate and sufficient Relief, Exhorting them to stand fast, and continue faithful to the Parliament of England. But notwithstanding this Resolution, all the rest of this Year, and more than three Quarters of the next, pass'd without any thing Considerable on either Side. The Irish being Ty'd up by the Cessation of Arms, and the Parliament of England sufficiently Embarrass'd with their Domestick Affairs.

At last, on the 24th of October, the two Houses publish'd an Ordinance to fall upon all the Irish Papists, that should be found in Arms against the Parliament and their Party. It was about

about this Time too, that they proceeded to Try Mac Guire, and Mac Mahon; we must not here omit laying something of that Affair.

These two Chiefs of the Irish Massacre, were made Prisoners in October 1641, and sent to England in July 1642, to be Try'd. The Great Affairs that the Parliament were Engag'd in, and the difficulty of bringing Proof from beyond Sea, retarded the Tryal a long Time. Besides, their Escape out of Prison in London, from whence they took Refuge in the Agent of France's House, occasion'd likewise some delay. They were discover'd by a Servant of Sir John Cloworthby's, who knew them as they open'd the Window of their Chamber for to Call an Oyster Woman; and being brought back to Prison on the 29th of September, they were Sentenc'd on the 13th of November to dye, as Persons Guilty of High Treason. They were condemn'd at the King's-Bench-Bar, and the two Houses of Parliament confirm'd the Sentence. Notwithstanding Mac Guire's Protest, who as a Peer of Ireland, Claim'd his Privilege of being Try'd by the Peers of his Countrey. He dy'd a harden'd Papist, and would confess nothing, but Mac Mahon confess'd all, and there was more than Proof sufficient against them both.

In Consideration of the Treaty of Cessation of Arms, concluded by the Marquis of Ormond, He was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and declar'd so at Dublin the 21st of January 1644. Thus the Earl of Leicester was depriv'd of that Government; and the Chagreen which that Lord conceiv'd therat, attach'd him to the Parliament, and separated him from the Court. I have already said, that the Cessation of Arms did not remedy the Evil, and that will presently be seen by the Sequel. Both Parties were dissatisfy'd,

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Mac
Guire,
and Mac
Mahon's
Tryal.

Their Sen-
tence and
Death.

The Mar-
quis of
Ormond,
made Lord
Lieute-
nant of
Ireland.

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1645.

*Exorsis-
tant De-
mands of
the Irish.*

*The King
will decide
nothing,
neither
one way
nor other.*

*He justi-
fies him-
self for
the Audi-
ence given
to the
Irish Pa-
pists.*

dissatisfy'd, the *Protestants* complain'd, that instead of restoring them to their Estates, their Hands were bound up against the Usurpers of them, the Enemies of their Religion and Government; who only wish'd for this respite, to be in a better Condition to oppres them for the future. And the *Irish Papists* being desirous to make their Advantage of the need that the King had of them, demanded that the Antient Laws should be Repeal'd, and they put upon an equal Footing with the *Protestants*, to Enjoy Offices, and to have publick Schools and Universities, as well as Churches. Farther they demanded, that they might be freed from the Government of *England*, and that their Parliaments should be declar'd free and Independant of the *English*.

The King was then at *Oxford*, and was willing to hear their respective Complaints and Demands there: Each Party sent their Deputies thither, who presented their Memorials in writing to the Council. All *April* and *May* were spent therein, but to no purpose; Each Party insisted stiffly on their Pretensions, but the King did not think fit to decide any thing, and only let both Parties see how Inconvenient it was to Gratifie one, to the Prejudice of the other; and Matters went no farther.

The two Houses, by their Deputies at *Uxbridge*, complain'd bitterly against this Conference with the Rebels, who were still red with the Blood of the *Protestants*, whom they had Massacred and Demanded, not without Warmth, that the Cessation of Arms should be revok'd. But the King represented to them, how he was Necessitated to conclude a Truce, which saved the Kingdom that was on the Point of being destroy'd; and as to the Conference, he said that the Agents from the *Irish Papists*, were sent back without

without his Granting of their Demands, which appear'd to him to be unjust, and that he had severely Reprimanded them. Thus it is, that the King's own Historian speaks; but another English Historian, ³ gives us a relation of what the King said to these Agents, when they came to take their Leave of him, in very different Terms; We have both, said he, need of one another, that we neither of us may fail of what we design; for the other, I am oblig'd so defer the Effects of my good Intentions to a more proper Intervalle, and then you shall find the Proofs of them; but on the contrary, you must not defer putting yours in Execution, by assisting me with all your Forces, against my Rebel Subjects of Scotland and England; Do you assist me to subdue them, and when you have done me that Service, you may expect all the Support, and all the Protection that can be hop'd for, from a Grateful Prince. But I repeat it to you once more, to be very Careful, not to precipitate any thing on the one side, whilst you use your utmost Diligence on the other; Least by acting otherwise, you should draw on my Ruine, which may be follow'd by your own; and that then, both you and your Religion being Exterminated, you may cease to be a People.

If England and Scotland really deserv'd the like Indignation from the King; then Deputies of the Parliament at Westminster, could not without abandoning all Pretensions to Respect and Shame, make a Reproach of the King's Correspondence with Irish Papists. The remedy was indeed an unhappy one, but it was the League of the two Nations that drove him to make use of it. But if on the other Hand, their Confederacy had no other end, but the Preservation of their Liberties and Religion; This Engagement of the King's, with the avow'd Enemies of

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¹ Claren-
don. ² Now
³ Rush-
worth.

¹ Dill
et alia
milt ret

The King's
Speech and
the Irish.

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1644.

*See Rush-
worth.

*His Dis-
course to
the Irish
Protes-
stants.*

*The Re-
solution
of the
Protestant
Generals
in Ireland
to con-
tinue the
War.*

*They De-
mand Suc-
cours from
the Par-
liament.*

his own Religion, and of his Crown of *England*, was an odious Engagement. It is true, (he says in some of his Letters⁴) that he Engag'd himself to nothing more, than what his Conscience and Honour would permit him to do; but this Restriction is not sufficient to Excuse the Odiousness of that Treaty.

The Agents from the Protestant Party of *Ireland*, had likewise their Audience of Leave from his Majesty, who gave them Assurances of his good Intentions towards them; and that he had written to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to order him to do every thing that was reasonable, for the good of the Reform'd Religion, and of his faithful Protestant Subjects.

It was not long before the King perceiv'd, that the Treaty of Cessation was not so Advantageous to him, as he hoped it would be. The Lord *Inchiquin*, one of the English Generals in *Munster*, sent him a Letter of the 17th of July, Subscrib'd by all the other Principal Officers, strenuously Exhorting him to revoke the Truce, and to continue the War against the Sworn and Irreconcileable Enemies of their Religion and Nation. The Letter concluded in these Terms, That whatever his Majesty's Resolution was there-upon, theirs was to pursue the War Vigorously against those Inhumane and Pious Butchers, and that they would rather chuse to dye Martyrs in a good Cause, than basely to abandon the Defence of it.

They wrote likewise to the two Houses at *Westminster*, to Remonstrate to them on the one Hand, the Zeal that they had to Maintain their Religion and Government; and on the other Hand, the Incapacity they were in to put their good Intentions in Execution, without an immediate and powerful Relief from *England*. At

the

the same Time they took upon them to tell the Parliament, that the only Means to put them in a Condition to save *Ireland*, was to make a Reconciliation with the King, who, whilst the War lasted in *England*, and that Kingdom was divided, could not possibly defend his Subjects in *Ireland*. These two Letters were very wisely written; but the King and Parliament were in too much Bitterness, to make a proper Advantage of them.

Anno
1644.

The repeated Orders from the King to the Marquis of *Ormond*, during the remainder of this Year, and the beginning of the next, not only to Maintain the Treaty of Cessation; but likewise his Parole, which he had given to the *Irish Papists*, to assist them; let us know, that nothing could make him abandon his Resolution, to get the better of the *Covenant*, or Confederacy of the two Kingdoms, Cost what it would. On the other Hand, that the Exhortation of the two Houses to my Lord *Inchiquin*, to hold out, with very great Assurances, that they would not abandon him, Engag'd him with all the Protestant Party, (except some few that adher'd to the Marquis of *Ormond*) to continue the War with Courage beyond their Strength.

1644.
1645.
*The King's
Resolu-
tion.*

From the Relation which I have given of the Troubles of *Ireland*, which I have done after the Historians that are the least suspected; one may Judge whether the King or Parliament had most Cause to Complain, and to be diffident and fearful. It is certain, that these mutual Diffidences and Fears prov'd fatal to them both; and that it is of the greatest Importance both to the Monarch and the Subject, not to give any Ground for suspicions, which soon change into fatal Hatreds, the unhappy Source of Civil

Anno
1645.

** On the
10th of
January.*

** The Earl
of Straf-
ford was
the first.*

Wars, of which this History is a terrible Picture.

The Execution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was beheaded whilst these Things were transacting, ; only serv'd to Encrease the Boldness of the Parliamentarians, (out of whose Hands the King could not Wrest this second Victim *) and to irritate this unfortunate Prince against his Subjects, whom he could not regain even at the Expence of Blood. that was so dear to him. This Death is not less famous in History, than that of the Earl of Strafford; the two Principal Objects of the Parliament's Fear and Hatred, both Imprison'd at the same Time, and for the same Cause, for which, they were both likewise Condemn'd; but whether their Hatred was sharper against the Earl of Strafford, or whether the Proofs against him were in more Readiness, or whether it proceeded from other Reasons ; He was the first Condemn'd, and the first Executed ; and the King who could not save him, hop'd that at least he should save the Archbishop, for whose Safety he was not less in Pain than for the Earl's ; but he was mistaken. Before the opening of the Conferences of Uxbridge, he proposed, that in order to open a Way for the Peace of the Kingdom, the Archbishop should be set at Liberty. The Parliament, who Judg'd after another Manner, and believ'd that his Death would be the greatest Security to the State and Religion : Pronounced Sentence against him, and caused him to be Executed, without asking the King's Consent. Let look into the Particulars of so Celebrated a Sentence and Death.

** The
18th of
Decem-
ber 1640.*

After his Imprisonment in the Tower *, the Commons in the Year 1641, sent thither likewise the Archbishop of York, and Eleven Bishops more,

more, for the Causes which I have related. The Anno
 Lords afterwards admitted them to Bail, and 1645.
 the Commons Imprison'd them a second Time, ^{The Ele-}
 as I have said in its place. At last they came ⁿ ^{ven Bi-}
 out of the Tower in the beginning of the ^{shops set}
 Year 1645, the two Houses being willing to ^{at Liber-}
 give the King that Satisfaction, tho' they re-
 serv'd him what he had nearest his Heart, and
 that was, that the same Grace should be shewn
 to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Com-
 mons regarded him as their Capital Enemy, and
 the chief Author of all those Ills that the Na- ^{The Arch-}
 tion suffer'd by the pernicious Counsel that ^{bishop}
 he gave King, for the Establishment of the ^{continues}
 Hierarchy and Arbitrary Government; therefore, ^{in Prison.}
 far from giving him the Deliverance that was
 demanded, they reserv'd him as a Victim which
 they were resolv'd to Sacrifice to the Nations
 Vengeance or Security. He was charg'd by the
 Speaker of the House of Commons, with two
 Crimes of State, the one was a design to intro-
 duce Popery into *England* on the Ruines of the
 Protestant Religion; and the second was, That
 he had endeavour'd to change the Lawful Go-
 vernment of the Kingdom, into an Absolute
 and Tyrannical one. The Twenty Articles of
 Charge, or of the Bill of Attainder, which the
 Deputy from the House of Commons, car- ^{9 Hollis.}
 ried up to the Lords, on the very Day of his
 Imprisonment, and which the Speaker of the
 House renew'd Five Years after, were all com-
 priz'd under these Two Heads. The Delin-
 quent was heard in his Defence, and if you'll
 believe Historians ^{+ Rague-}, who relate this Cir-
 cumstance, he had as much Difficulty to defend
 himself against *Cromwell's* Eloquence, as against
 the Depositions of the Evidence. The Pro-
 ceedings were begun from the Year 1641, but
 were well,

Anno
1645.

Rush-
worth.

The Con-
clusion
of the
Speaker.

The Lords
would
willingly
give the
Archbi-
shop, but
cannot.

were frequently interrupted. The Author of the History of the Civil Wars is, nevertheless, mistaken, when he says, that they were four Years without Prosecuting the Charge against him; for the Author that has collected all the Proceedings, gives us the Particulars of several in October, November, and December 1643, and in January, March, April, May, June, July, September, October, November, and December, 1644. According to this last Author, it was not till the 4th of January 1643, that the Two Houses Sentenc'd him to Die for High Treason*. In their Charge against him, they alledg'd, that he was at the Head of the Cabal against the Church and State; that under his Shelter and Authority, the Popish Party had found means to sow Divisions, and that it was he that was the unhappy Instrument which that Party made use of to embroil Scotland with England, and the Church of England with the Presbyterians: On these Grounds the Speaker of the House of Commons demanded, That William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, should be Condemn'd to Die, as Convict'd by Informations of designing to alter the Religion and Government of England, and of being the Cause of all those Evils that the Nation had been afflict'd with for the last Ten Years.

The Commons had only Power to Accuse and prepare Matters for Tryal; it belong'd only to the Lords to Judge and pronounce Sentence. It did not pass there without Difficulty, and some were of Opinion, that they should

Condemn

* The Informations were continued against him till the 12th of March 1644, and what was done was the Examining of the Proofs, the Tryal having been begun on the said 12th of March according to Rushworth.

Condemn the Delinquent to a perpetual Im-prisonment ; but the Clamours of the Commons, who represented, that there was no Security nor Peace to be hop'd for, as long as that publick Enemy was Living, prevail'd, and he was Condemn'd to Die by an Ordinance of the two Houses. Altho' there were but Twelve Peers in the House of Lords, and consequently that House was defective, his Sentence was pass'd on him in the Presence of both Houses, and he submitted thereunto, altho' he might have protest'd against the Formalities, as a certain Historian alledges. It is true, that the King did not give his Consent to the Sentence, without which, it seem'd as if that of the Two Houses was not sufficient : But they pretended to have the Sovereign Authority, and that their Ordinance † did not stand in need of the Prince's Approbation. Neither had they any Regard to the King's Pardon, which he had caus'd to be issued in all the Forms ; the Archbishop presented it to them, after his Sentence ; but they declar'd it Null.

It was on the 10th of January that this Prelate, at the Age of Seventy Two, had his Head cut off on Tower-bill ; it was a sad Sight to behold the first Peer of the Kingdom, the Primate of England, in so advanc'd an Age, make his appearance upon a Scaffold, there to die by the Hand of the Common Executioner ; but the People look'd on him, as stain'd with the Blood of Two Hundred Thousand Persons, that were Massacred in Ireland, and imputed to him all the Troubles of the Kingdom, and above all, the

P 4 bring-

~~that was very well educated, but~~
~~abused, and must be~~
~~blamed to his personal ill-will~~
† An Ordinance differs from an Act of Parliament, the King's Consent being wanting to the former.

Anno
1645.

*on t. t.
- 11 v. q.
- a. b. 11
and h. 11*

Rague.
not.

The King's
Consent
wanting
to the Sen-
tence.

He is Ex-
ecuted
notwith-
standing.

Anno
1645.

The Peo-
ples Ha-
tred a-
gainst him.

His Speech
on the
Scaffold.

bringing in of Popery, which he had openly solicited, jointly with the Earl of Strafford, and of which the Massacre of Ireland was the fatal Consequence, and to which he design'd to add the Massacre of the Protestants of England. These Ideas of what was past, were so fresh in Mind, and occasion'd so great a dread of what was to come, that they quite stifled all Motions of Compassion, and the People who believed that there was no Safety for the State or Religion, but in the Death of that Prelate, had earnestly demanded it, and now waited for it with Impatience. He endeavour'd, but in vain, to move their Pity by the Speech that he made on the Scaffold. This Speech was a kind of Sermon, on these Words of the Scripture, *Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down on the Right Hand of the Throne of God.* Having said that, he, after the Example of **YESUS CHRIST**, pass'd thro' the way of Suffering and Shame, in order to arrive at the Glory of Paradise; he then compar'd his Persecutions to the Persecutions of the Son of God, and the Proceedings of the Jews, to the Proceedings of the English: Those, said he, fearing that the Romans taking Umbrage at the Messiah, might come to Jerusalem in search of him, or make use of that Presence to extirpate their Nation, hastily put him to Death themselves; after the like manner have the English precipitated my Sentence and Death, fearing that the Romans, that is, the Papists, whom they accuse me so have design'd to bring into England, should come hither under my Protection and Favour. At the same Time, he made Protestations of his Innocence, and of his good Intentions to the Church of England, in the Com-

Communion of which he had always Liv'd, and was resolv'd to Die. No Body was moved by his Speech, and he is tax'd with Artifice and Equivocating, in order to impose upon the World even at his Death. It is alledg'd against him, that he made use of the Terms of the Church of *England*, to skreen himself by that general Expression, in which the *Roman Church*, which was spread all over many Parts of the Kingdom, was included, as well as the Protestant Church. This was what was pretended to be demonstrated in a little Book that was printed immediately after his Death, call'd, *The Dying Counterfeit*. To say Truth, the Presumptions are strong against this Prelate, and it is agreed on by all without Exception, that he openly favour'd the Papists, and held a Correspondence with the Agents of the Court of *Rome*. His Correspondence with Cardinal *Barbarini* could not be carried to a greater Height; and it is said¹, that if that Cardinal would have secur'd him a Pension of Forty Eight Thousand Livres at *Rome*, he would have follow'd *Rosetti*²: Others say, that the Papists look'd on him, as their greatest Enemy³; and the Roman Catholick Historians, that give a great deal of Praise to his Merit, find fault with his Religion, and will not allow him the Crown of Martyrdom, because, as they say, he was not enlighten'd with the Catholick Faith, and died in the Protestant Communion. But I shall not judge, but leave it to the searcher of Hearts, to whom nothing can be disguis'd; but whatever Religion this Archbishop was of, he died uttering these Words, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*. He had scarce spoken them, when the Executioner (the Words being the Signal) struck off his Head at a Blow.

Anno
1645.

No Body
mov'd
with it.
What Peo-
ple say of
his Reli-
gion.

¹ See
Wickfort
and the
Abbe Siri.

² Who was
forc'd to
leave
England.

³ The
compleat
History of
England.

His
Death.

The

Anno
1645,
*The Trou-
bles of
the King-
dom imput-
ed to
him,*

F. Or-
leans.

*The State
of the
King's
Affairs.*

The Ambitious Hierarchy fell with this Prelate of the Church of England ; the Bishop, the King's Right Arm, according to the King's, or Laud's Expression, could no longer support that Prince, nor be supported themselves : There was so close a Connexion between them, that the Fall of the one was the Fall of the other. Episcopacy now only languished in the Twelve Prelates, that were admitted to Bail by the Parliament, and the Crown began to totter on the Head of the unfortunate King Charles, with whom we shall soon see it fall : Thus these two Powers helping to raise each other above the Bounds of lawful Authority, proved fatal to one another ; but the Historians, the most favourable to Laud, lay the whole blame to his Charge : He (say they) engag'd the King too far in the Quarrel about Episcopacy ; and the People who were only tractable on that Head, out of Fear, seeing themselves push'd to an Extremity, were dispos'd to throw off the Yoke by their Resentment and Despair, to which the outrageous Zeal of this Prelate for his Primacy and new Office had driven them. It cost him his Life, happy if by that loss he had saved the Life of his Prince whom he had engaged in that Project ; but Matters were carried on too far to conclude in any thing less than the ruin of one Party, and the King's Misfortune would have it to end in his.

Nevertheless, he had still some Success, and did not doubt but that he should still recover his Affairs ; but these Rays of Prosperity soon disappear'd, and the fatal Genius of Cromwell got the Ascendant so far, that nothing was able to stop it. (The Battle of Naseby, where he triumph'd, was not less glorious to him than

Phar-

Pheralia was to *Cesar*; nor less fatal to *Charles* than that Battle was to *Pompey*. There was a resemblance too in the Fate of the Conquerors and the Conquer'd. *Cesar* pursued *Pompey* from Place to Place, and forc'd him to fly for an Asylum amongst the *Egyptians* who sent his Head to *Cesar*: The unfortunate King thought he should find a Refuge from *Cromwell's* pursuits amongst the *Scotch*, and they sold him to that cruel Enemy who brought him to perish on a Scaffold. It is to this terrible Catastrophe that the Civil Wars will lead us, which were rather inflamed than abated by the Conferences at Uxbridge; and were not extinguished, but by the Blood of *Englishmen*, and even the Blood of the King himself.

Anno
1645.

The breaking up of the Conferences leaving no Hopes of Peace, both Parties made Preparations for a bloody War. It was then, or some little time after, that the Commons Independants, who began to get the Government in their Hands, took the Resolution of depriving the Earl of *Essex* of the Generalship, and to give it to *Fairfax*, joining *Cromwell* to him, who under the Title of Lieutenant, divided the Power with him, if he did not exercise it altogether. The Commons nevertheless shew'd their acknowledgment to the Earl of *Essex*, by assigning him a Pension of Twelve Thousand Pounds Sterling; and the Historian says, that they took that Office from him, not on Account of any Suspicion that they had of his Conduct, but because they thought him too mild for a War which they were determin'd to carry on with the utmost Outrage; or perhaps, because that they had not the same opinion of his Fortune that they had of *Cromwell's*: But nevertheless, they durst not at first invest *Cromwell*, who

The Libe-
rality of
the Par-
liament
to the
Earl of
Essex.

In March
1645.

Anno
1645.

The Cha-
racters of
Fairfax
and
Crom-
well ne-
cessary one
to the
other.

who was but a private Gentleman, with so high an Employ, which they took from one of the first Peers of the Kingdom: They therefore made Choice of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and contented themselves for the present, with giving the Lieutenantcy to Cromwell.

Fairfax was not unworthy of that choice: the Glory that he had acquir'd in the Armies of the famous Gustavus in Germany, made him highly to deserve it; and he made it appear by his Wisdom and Courage, that the Parliament could not have made a better Choice than that of him and his Lieutenant. The differing Characters of those two Leaders, so famous in the English History, far from setting them at variance, were the Means of uniting them, and the need that each had of the other, prevented all Jealousy betwixt them, and made the Parliaments Arms Triumphant. Fairfax, who was too Silent and too Flegmatick, would not have been Vigilant and Brisk enough, if he had not been stirr'd up by Cromwell; and Cromwell was too Undertaking and too Bold, and had not acted with Caution enough, if his Fire had not been temper'd with Fairfax's Flegm. But after all Cromwell was much the greater Genius; the General only thought, the Lieutenant made himself Master of the Resolutions taken, hasten'd them, conducted them, and put them in Execution, with a Rapidity that drew the other into the Action, when he only thought that he was giving his Orders; but we must return to the King.

His Troops were the first that enter'd on Action, Sir ~~John~~ Dives took the Field in the beginning of March, and made himself Master of Weymouth, where he found Cannon, Provisions, and Ammunition, and Twenty small Ships or Vessels in the Port. Others too, undertook

The Siege
of Taun-
ton.

dertook some Expeditions of less Importance, but the chief was the Siege of Taunton, the Saguntum of the Parliamentarians, as the Historians stile this Place, comparing the Fidelity which it had for them, to the Fidelity which that Spanish Town had for the Romans; and the Extremities that both Towns were reduced to, Taunton however had better Fortune than Saguntum, which Hannibal took and demolish'd, instead of which the Parliament Army rais'd the Siege of Taunton.

This Town, which like that of Saguntum, is not at all known but by the Siege, employ'd the King's chief Forces, and at the same Time gave the greatest Disquiet to the Parliament: The Royalists were resolv'd to carry it, and the Parliamentarians attempted several times to relieve it, but they could not succeed till after the Battle of Nuesby, as we shall see presently.

But all the Forces of the Two Parties, were not employ'd in the Besieging and the Relief of this Place; the Armies were divided into several Bodies in different Parts of the Kingdom, and England became a bloody Theatre, wherein her own Citizens seem'd delighted to Butcher one another. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded for the King, defeated Colonel Ross in Leiceshshire, and rais'd the Siege of Pomfret Castle in Yorkshire. Colonel Molineux, Sir —— Compton, and Prince Rupert likewise got other Advantages against the Enemy, and the Campaign did not begin ill on the King's side. The King himself reliev'd Chester, and oblig'd Sir William Brereton, who besieg'd it, to decamp, not daring to engage the Royal Army. From thence he March'd on the 7th of May, and on the 30th he came before Leicester, and carried it by Assault.

Anno

1645,

Aug 1645
x Oct 1645
Nov 1645

Dec 1645

Jan 1646

Exploits
of both
Parties.

General

Anno
1645.

*The Siege
of Ox-
ford.*

*Is Raised.
And why.*

*Crom-
well's
Credit in
the Par-
liament.*

*His Ex-
ploits.*

General Fairfax thought of making amends for these Losses by the taking of Oxford, and therefore came on the 2d of June to lay Siege to the Place ; but Colonel Legg, who commanded there for the King, made such a furious sally on the Besiegers, that they despair'd of carrying the Place, and retir'd. Some Authors give a different Account of this, and say, that Fairfax did not abandon the Siege but by Orders from the Parliament, who would have him, instead of wasting his Army before a Town, which they could take at any Time, to March directly to the King, and terminate the War by a decisive Battle. The same Orders were sent to Cromwell, or perhaps put into the Heads of the Commons by himself, in which House he was Member, and had not less Power than in the Army ; and altho' he was absent himself, yet he had a Party in the House, who stood by his Opinion, and whatever was known to come from him, pass'd for an Oracle. But whether it was so or not, he had the Honour to put those Orders in Execution, if he had no share in the deliberating of them ; and all Historians agree, in giving him the Glory of that Day, so Fatal to the King, and Advantagious to the Parliament.

Cromwell open'd the Campaign fortunately, with the defeat of Colonel Goring, whom he made to lose the Title of Invincible, which his People had given him, by Routing a Body of Horse that he Commanded near Islip, and taking Five Hundred Horses, besides the Kill'd and Wounded. From thence pursuing his Victory, he presented himself before the strong Castle of Bleclington, about Thirty Miles from the Place where he fought ; and tho' it could not be taken without Cannon, and that Cromwell had brought

one with him ; and tho' the Governor had made a Vigorous Defence of the Place, against Sir Hardress Waller the Year before ; He had not now the same Courage against Cromwell. His Name was already so formidable, that every Body believ'd, that Victory was attach'd to his Banners, and that he had nothing to do, but shew them to gain Battles, and take Towns. The Governor did not wait to be attack'd, but as soon as he saw the Ensigns of this terrible Enemy, he hung out a white Flag, and caus'd the Gates to be open'd to him.

But the Ambitious General, made but a small account of these little Successes, his Views and Hopes went much farther, and flaming with desire to see himself Engag'd with the Royal Army, he despis'd all Triumphs, but over the King. And therefore, being highly delighted, that his Desires were supported by the Advice and Command of the two Houses ; He us'd his utmost Diligence, to bring his wish'd for Project to succeed, and block the Way up so, that the King could not Escape him. With this Design, and the better to Conceal it, he made a Feint of Marching towards the Northern Counties, as if he design'd to go into Scotland, and there join the Covenanter's Army. He March'd thro' Huntingtonshire and Cambridgeshire, but he Communicated his Design to General Fairfax, so that he might follow him, keeping close to the King's Army, which he did not doubt were in pursuit of him, and join him when there should be an occasion.

Every thing succeeded, the King Suspecting no Stratagem, and being altogether Intent on Cromwell's Motions, took his Rout thro' Northamptonshire, with design to observe him, but not to Risque a Battle ; but he was mistaken.

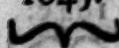
The

Anno
1645.

*The Terror
that he
Occurrences.*

*His Stra-
tagem to
draw the
Royal Ar-
my to Bat-
tle.*

Anno
1645.



The active and diligent *Cromwell*, no sooner had Advice that the King was Encamp'd at *Naseby*, a little Town without Walls, or Fortifications, but he resolv'd to surprize him there, and force him to a Battle. He advis'd *Fairfax* of it, and the whole Army Marching all Night, came on the 14th of June, by break of Day, up with the King's Camp.

*A De-
scription
of the two
Armies.*

Some Authors say, that the King's Army was Encamp'd at *Harborough*, and that his Horse were on the Hills : That *Fairfax*, who was Five Miles from the Enemy's Camp, drew up his Army on the Plain to the North-East of *Naseby*, having possess'd himself of a little Hill that cover'd him on his Right, and that he was drawn up after such manner, that the Wind and Sun were directly in the Face of the Royalists ; and that it was impossible to Post an Army better, or make more Advantage of the Situation than *Fairfax* did. These Authors make no mention of *Cromwell*, about the drawing up the Army, but give the whole Honour of it to *Fairfax*, and only speak of *Cromwell* in the Action ; but there are Historians on the other Hand, that give him all the Glory of that famous Day, and will not even allow, that *Fairfax* was there. But the Historians that seem of the best Authority, bring both these Leaders into the Action, and Assign each his distinct Command, and the Honour that is due to both ; tho' they give much the greater share to *Cromwell*, who distinguish'd himself there particularly, by a great many Master Strokes.

According to the latter, whom I am resolv'd to follow, *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, Commanded the Parliament Army, and were the great Movers of it, as well as of the whole Party ; *Fairfax* was in the Center, having

Cromwell

Cromwell on the Right Wing, and Ireton on the Left. The King's Army was drawn up much after the same manner, the King was in the Center himself, which was Cover'd by two Wings of Horse, the Right of which was Commanded by the two young *Palatines* his Nephews, and the Left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; these were sustain'd by the Foot, Commanded by *Lindsey* and *Astley*, on the side next the two Princes, and *Bard* and *Leſley*, on that next to *Langdale*. We have an Exact account of the Number of the *Combatans*, which some make to amount to Twelve Thousand on each side, and some to less; but almost all agree, that the Parliament's Army was Inferior to the other.

The Battle was begun by the Right Wing of the Royalist Horse; Prince *Rupert*, according to his usual Warmth, fell upon the Left Wing of the Enemy, where *Ireton* Commanded, whom he put to flight: Notwithstanding all the Bravery of that Bold *Republican*, worthy of the Alliance of such a Father-in-Law, whom he equall'd in Courage, if not in Fortune. He did on this occasion, all that could be expected, not only from a good General, but from a Valiant Soldier; Wounded, taken Prisoner, and not yielding the Victory, till he was entirely abandon'd by all his People, whom it was impossible for him to Rally. The Prince would not suffer them to Rally again, but continued still striking and pursuing them so eagerly, that he did not perceive that by his pursuing these Runaways, he abandon'd the King his Uncle to the fatal Arms of the Fortunate *Cromwell*.

This Bold General gain'd the same Advantage over the Left Wing of the Royalists, that Prince *Rupert* had over the Left Wing of the Parliamentarians; but he knew better than the

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1645.



Prince, how to make his Advantage of the Success; instead of suffering himself to be carried away by his Courage and Fire, he put a stop to their Career, and for some Moments observ'd the State of the two Armies. Instead of thinking how to restore the broken Wing of his Army that fled before the Prince; He bent all his Thoughts how to make the best Advantage of the Prince's Absence, who put himself into disorder, by disordering the Enemy. He therefore deem'd both the Victors and the Vanquish'd, as out of the Battle, and only applied himself on his side, how to compleat the Victory which he had so happily begun: The two main Bodies were Engag'd, and the King and Fairfax fought with equal Courage and Success, when the furious Cromwell falling on the Royalists with his Troops, flush'd with the Conquest that they had Gain'd over Langdale, soon turn'd the Scale, and oblig'd the Victory to declare herself once more in his favour. The repeated Word, *Long Live the Parliament and their Army*, Encourag'd the Soldiers, who Echoed it loudly again, and seem'd to cause Terror in the Enemy. Cromwell flew like Lightning, from one part of the Army to the other, and brake thro' the Enemies Squadrions with such Rapidity, that nothing either could, or durst stop him; All was broken, all gave way, and all fled, or were taken Prisoners. Prince Rupert had scarce compleated the defeat of Ireton, when believing that he had Time enough to Succour the King, and so gain an entire Victory, he found that his little Success had Cost his Party very dear; and that the Fault which his too great Eagerness had occasion'd him to commit, had given the Victory to those whom he accounted Conquer'd; the Victory was compleat. There is no account given

*He Gains
the Vi-
ctory.*

*Prince
Rupert's
Faults.*

ven of the Slain, but they reckon that the Number of Prisoners amounted to Five Thousand amongst whom there were a great many Officers of Distinction. Three Hundred Waggon's, Loaded with Baggage, Three Thousand Horse, Cannon, Colours, and Standards; All were taken from the Royalists, and carried in Triumph thro' all the Counties, where the Victorious Army pass'd. The King hardly Escap'd to *Leicester*, which he had taken the beginning of the Campaign, being pursued for Fourteen Miles, by *Cromwell's* Horse, almost to the Gates of the Town; From thence he went to *Hereford*, and afterwards to *Oxford*, the best Place that he had, Prince *Rupert* follow'd him thither with Prince *Mary* his Brother, and the Remains of the Army, without bringing with him either General *Ireton*, or even one of the Prisoners; all which he was forc'd to Release, only preserving to himself the Honour, or the Regret of a Victory, obtain'd at so terrible a Price.

This was not all the Mortification which the King's ill Fortune would have him to suffer; He had carried along with him a Box, wherein were his most Secret and Important Papers. Such were the Letters that he receiv'd from the Queen his Wife, who was then in *France*, and the Minutes of those that he wrote to her; *Fairfax* sent the Box, with all the Papers to the Parliament, and the two Houses being assembled, the Box was open'd, and the Letters read with an Audible Voice, and what is more, they had them printed and publish'd: It is said, that the greatest part of the Letters, only contain'd Expressions of Tenderness one to the other, the Dictates of Conjugal Love, and People Exclaim loudly against the unbecoming Proceeding of the Parliamentarians; who fail'd in their Discretion

Anno
1645.

*The Loss
of the
Royalists.*

*The King
Escapes to
Oxford.*

*The King's
Box sent
to the
Parlia-
ment, who
read the
Letters
in it.*

³ *Ludlow*
says, that
there were
Letters in
it relating
to the
Earl of
Strafford,
and to the
Irish Re-
bels.

Anno 1645. tition and Respect to their Sovereign, which on

* They sent him back the Letters from Queen Olympias unopen'd.

the like occasion, the Athenians did not fail in, even to King Philip their Enemy; nor Caesar to Pompey, whose Letters being found in a Box, after the Battle of Pharsalia, the Conqueror burnt them without suffering them to be Read.

This Important and Compleat Victory, only Cost the Conquerors One Thousand Men, Kill'd and Wounded; and it open'd the Way to them, to take all the Towns that held out for the King.

Montrose's Victories in Scotland.

s I Stile him indifferently, sometimes Earl, and sometimes Marquis.

Montröse, the Great Support of the King's Party in Scotland, did Incredible Prodigies of Valour for him, endeavouring to keep, if it was possible, Fortune on the King's side in Scotland, which abandon'd him in England; but it could not be, and the Destiny of the Unfortunate Charles, prevail'd over the Courage and Zeal of a General, who only wanted the Auspices of a more Fortunate Prince. He had Gain'd, as we have seen already, three famous Battles the Year before; Put the Earl of Argyll to flight, the obstinate General of the Covenanters, and taken his Quarters on his Lands. This Year was not less Successful, and the Battles of Innerlochy, of Alderne, Alford, and Kilsyth, which he gain'd over the Covenanters, almost compleated the Reduction of their part of Scotland. But a fifth Battle, fought at Selkirk, made him lose the Fruits of the four first, and occasion a Revolution, which his Courage put a stop to for some Time; but the ill Fortune of the Prince for whom he fought, would not suffer him to retrieve it. Let us look into these Events, the principal Circumstances of which I shall relate only.

The

The first of those Battles was fought on the 12th of February near the Tower of Innerlochy, from whence the Battle takes its Name, near the Lake which gives hers to the County of Lochquabair. The Earl of Argyle, Master of the Castle, had intrench'd himself for Three Miles along the Lake, waiting for Five Thousand Men from Inverness that were on their March to join him. Thus the Marquis of Montrose, who was only Fifteen Hundred Men strong, found himself between two Armies, the least of which was double his Number.

Anno
1645.Montrose
Wins the
Battle of
Innerlo-

chy. What he determin'd to do was, to Attack them both one after another, perceiving that he must be inevitably ruin'd, if he staid till they surrounded him, and he thought it proper to begin with the Earl of Argyle. This was not done, because that he thought the Earl's Army the weakest. On the contrary, his Situation, and Commanders he had with him, made this the much most dangerous attempt of the two. But then, he thought that the Success would be of greater Importance, and if he could but beat the Earl of Argyle, that then he would spread a Terror amongst the Covenanters, whose Right Hand, and Principal Mover he was. Notwithstanding all the Difficulties that were in his Way, he undertook it, and Succeeded ; Courage and Diligence, were necessary for such an Attempt, and he wanted neither. Crossing the Mountains and Deserts of Lochquabair, he came to Encamp in the Evening, within Cannon Shot of the Enemy : He Skirmish'd all Night, by the Light of the Moon, and at break of Day he Sounded the Charge. This Ardor Surpriz'd the Covenanters, who scarce stood the first shock, but betook themselves to flight, after leaving Seven Hundred dead on the Spot ; the Conquerors lost

Anno 1645. but a very few Soldiers, and no Officers, except Sir —— Ogilby, who dy'd of his Wounds.

This Success had been follow'd by much a greater Progress of his Arms, if Monrose had had more Forces: But as it was, he made as great Advantages as he could, and much more than could be hop'd for, from so small an Army as his; which had an Enemy still at their Hand, much more Numerous than they, by whom they were pursued from all Parts.

*His March
and Ex-
ploits.*

After the Battle of Innerlochy, he took again his Rout by *Loobness*, which, they say, never Freezes; Cross'd the little Provinces, and came down into the Valley of *Spey*, enter'd into the Shire of *Murray*, and came to *Elgin*, which is the Capital of that County; where the *Cou-namers* that were there assembled, durst not wait his coming, and where Young *Gordon* join'd him. He did not make any long stay there, but finding his Army to consist of Two Thousand Foot, and Twelve Hundred Horse: He pass'd the *Spey*, and the *Dee*, and enter'd *Mernshire*, defeated *Hurry*, one of the Bravest Captains belonging to the Confederates, who oppos'd his Passage; Continu'd his March thro' *Angus*, passing by the Skirts of the Mountains, drawing still near the River *Tay*, and endeavouring to get the Firth. He design'd too, to pass the *Tay*, to enter into *Fife* and *Louthian*, and thus to pass from North to South Scotland; but Young *Gordon* being recall'd by the Marquis of *Huntley* his Father, having quitted him, and drawn off his Troops, he found himself too weak to put his Design in Execution. He had Advice too, that the Enemy was Marching against him from all Sides, and he miss'd very narrowly of being surround'd at *Dundee*; which Town the Soldiers had just Plunder'd. He was pursued to the Abby of

Arbroath,

Akbroth, from whence after some Hours Halt, he March'd all Night crossing the Countrey, between the Tay and the Sudesk ; which he pass'd Three Miles off above Breching, taking his Rout back again Northward. The Enemy still press'd him close, and to escape them, he was forc'd to March, Fighting three Days and three Nights, before he could reach the Mountains, and save himself at *Glenick*; the Capital of the little Countrey of *Strathnavern*, and one of those that is possess'd by the Highlanders.

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1645.

He staid there for some Time, to refresh his Soldiers; but being inform'd that the *Covenanter's* Troops were in the Field, under the Command of *Hury* and *Baily*, he determin'd to Fight them separately, before they joia'd. He took his Rout by the Mountains of *Angus*, and came to Encamp at *Kirf*, Eighteen Miles from *Perth*: He had only Five Hundred Foot with him, and Fifty Horse, and *Baily* who was Quarter'd in that County, came with Two Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse to attack him. *Montrose's* Diligence and Courage sav'd him again; For whilst his Foot by his Orders, retir'd towards the River *Erne*, he Cover'd them with his Horse; and notwithstanding the Enemy's Superiority, he March'd three Days Skirmishing, and forc'd them to quit him at a narrow Pass, which the River makes, where they durst not Engage him. He Encamp'd that Night on the Banks of *Logh Erne*, from whence that River takes its Name: And on Advice, that *Young Gordon* was coming to him with Two Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse; He return'd towards the Source of the *Tay*, Cross'd thro' the Countrey of *Athol* and *Angus*, by long Marches, pass'd *Gramp Mountain*, by *Glenmak*,

Anno 1645. and enter'd into the County of Marris, where Gordon came and joined him.

Finding himself then strong enough to Engage *Hurry*, who was prevented by the Diligence of Montrose's March, from joining of *Baily*, he did not hesitate to offer him Battle ; He came up with him about Nine Miles from the River *Spey* ; but *Hurry*, altho' Superior in Number, durst not stay to Engage him, but pass'd the River and got to *Elgin*. But not thinking himself safe there, he departed from thence, pass'd the Forrest, and got to *Inverness*, where the Covenanter's Troops of the North join'd him. Here he stopt, and finding himself at the Head of Three Thousand Foot, and Fourteen Hundred Horse, he March'd against Montrose, who lay Encamp'd at *Alderne* with Fifteen Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred and Fifty Horse, the Party was not at all Equal ; but Montrose was not us'd to give way, and besides, it had not been safe for him to do it ; For *Baily*, who was on his March would have fallen on him, and Charg'd him in Front, in his Retreat, whilst *Hurry* would have Attack'd his Rear, and so surrounded him ! There was therefore no Security for him, but in Fighting, and Montrose readily made that his Choice.

*He Wins
the Battle
of Alderne.*

The Battle was fought on the Fifth of May, in the Plains, or rather in the Valley of *Alderne*. Montrose drew up his Forces, and gave the Command of the Right Wing of the Foot to *Mac Donnald*, and put himself at the Head of the Left : The Horse were led by *Gordon*, and some Musqueteers, that were plac'd in the Ditches about the Town, made the Main Body, or to speak more properly, the shadow of a Main Body ; For, for want of Troops, there was no Main Body of the Battle, nor no Corps

De

Dr Reserve ; The Valour and Capacity of the General supply'd all Wants. The inequality did not at all surprize him, nor did he shew the least Emotion at the News of his Right Wing being Routed, which was whisper'd to him in his Ear. But he did more, and turning it to his Advantage, Courage, says he to his People, *Mac Donnald has beaten the Enemy ; Let us compleat what he has begun, and share with him at least, in the Honour of the Victory.* This Stratagem succeeded, his People believ'd him, and finding their Forces to Encrease at the News, they follow'd their Intrepid General, who with Sword in Hand, broke the *Covenanter's* Battalions, whilst *Gordon* with the few Horse that he had, Routed their Squadrons, and soon put all the Right Wing to flight. Then he ran immediately to relieve his People, whom the Enemy's Left Wing had broken, and meeting *Mac Donald* who fought Retreating, he soon chang'd the Scene, pursued the pursuers, and Gain'd an entire Victory. *Hurry*, who hardly made his Escape, left Three Thousand Slain on the Field of Battle, without reckoning the Prisoners. The Royalists lost but Fourteen or Fifteen Soldiers Kill'd, and had about as many Wounded.

After this Victory, *Montrose* went to *Elgin* to refresh his Troops ; but he was not long in quiet there, *Hurry* with the remains of his Army join'd *Baily*, and both of them sought earnestly to Revenge themselves, and to fight *Montrose* ; but they only augmented their Losses, and the Battle of *Alford*, which succeeded that of *Alderne*, had the like Success. The Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the *Covenanters*, in the Room of the Earl of *Argyle*, likewise join'd *Baily* and *Hurry*, who were only his Lieutenants ; or else plac'd himself so, as to be ready to Succour them,

Anno 1645. them, in case they were Attack'd. Thus Montrose, had almost at the same Time, three Generals, and three Armies on his Hands; He, who had scarce one himself, for the little Number of Troops that he Commanded, did not deserve the Name of an Army, otherwise than from the Reputation and Victories of the General. He had likewise the Dexterity to separate the Enemy again, and only had to do with Baily, whom he observ'd so narrowly, that he came up with him on the Marquis of Huntley's Lands, where he went alone to Ravage the Countrey; thither he pursued him, fought and defeated him.

Lindsey join'd Baily at Drum, but they separated Lindsey: went into Athol, where the greatest Zealots of Montrose's Party liv'd, and the other towards the Mouth of the Spey, where the Marquis of Huntley has his Castle call'd Bogge, and his best Lands. Montrose, who could not be every where, rather chose to hasten to Succour Huntley, than the County of Athol; either with a Prospect of gaining thereby greater Advantages to his Party, or else of meeting with less Difficulty in the Execution. As soon as ever he understood that Baily was Engag'd in the North of Scotland, he follow'd him thither; and his Spies having brought him Advice, that the Enemies Foot were on a Hill, about three Miles from the Royalists, and their Horse that had pass'd the Donne, were drawn up in a narrow Vale, between the two Armies, he advanc'd his Cavalry; but Baily having made his Horse repass the River, oppos'd the Royalists, keeping on the Banks to dispute the Pass. The Royalists found that they were not able to force the Enemy, and waited for some Lucky Motion to make their Advantage of it. It soon presented it self, Baily having notice that Mac Donald was

on the Mountains, with a small Party of Troops, fil'd off towards Stratbroy, and follow'd him thither. *Montrose* on his side march'd to the Relief of his People, and pass'd in the Night, Six Miles from *Baily's* Camp at *Alford*.

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1645.

*He Wins
the Battle
of Alford.*

It was here that the Battle was fought the next Day, the 2d of July. *Montrose*, who was in Quest of the Enemy, advanc'd on the Banks of the *Donne*; and *Baily*, who thought that the Royalists were going off, pass'd the River at a Fort, about a Mile from *Alford*, with design to pursue them. Both Armies being thus dispos'd for Battle, it was not long before it began. They were equal in Foot; but *Baily* had Six Hundred Horse, and *Montrose* but two Hundred and Fifty; this Inequality did not give him much Trouble, but moving first, he charg'd the Enemy briskly. The *Covenanter's* Horse sustaining their Foot, kept the Victory for some Time doubtful, and it may be, might have turn'd it on their side, if *Montrose* had not order'd his People to throw away their Musquets, and with their Swords to Hamstring the Horses: His Orders were obey'd, and the Horses being Mad with their Wounds, overthrew both themselves and their Riders, and spread a Terror every where. It was by this Stratagem, or Courageous Action, that the Royalists gain'd the Victory. The *Covenanter's* Horse being Routed, and their Foot being now no longer Cover'd by the Horse, were cut to Pieces. The joy of this Success was allay'd by the Death of Young *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Huntley's* Eldest Son, who was Kill'd in the Action, and for which *Montrose* was not less afflicted, than he was rejoic'd at the Victory.

The

Anno
1645.

A Continuation of his March of his Viceroy.

He Wins the Battle of Kilsyth

The Battle of *Kilsyth*, was more Considerable than the three others that I have related, as well for the Number of the *Combatants*, as for the Place where the Battle was given, being almost at the Gates of the Capital; and for the Consequences which that Victory was attended with, which brought almost all *Scotland* over to the King's Party. *Montrose* had always a design to pass from the North to South *Scotland*, and to enter the Counties of *Fife* and *Louthian*, of which *Edenborough* is the Capital. But before he could put that design in Execution, he must pass the *Dee*, the *Tay*, the *Erne*, and the *Forth*, Four Rivers, on whose Borders the Enemies had their Troops Posted, to dispute the Passage. These Difficulties did not discourage the Royalist's Valiant General, he surmounted them all. After having pass'd the first three Rivers, he came in the Night between the 14th and 15th, to pass the *Forth*, and Encamp at *Kilsyth*. The *Covenanters* on their side pass'd it at the Bridge at *Sterling*, came and Pitch'd their Camp about Four Miles from his; both Armies were Encreas'd, the Royalists were Four Thousand Five Hundred strong in Foot, and Five Hundred in Horse; and the *Covenanters* a third more, both in Foot and Horse. This Superiority did not at all daunt *Montrose*, nor prevent him from Marching towards the Enemy with a Resolution, which seem'd rather to be the Resolution of a Person Determin'd, than that of a Heroe. He order'd all his Soldiers to throw off their Doublets, and to bare their Arms up to the Elbows; and in this Posture he oblig'd them to rush Headlong on the Enemy with their Swords draw'n in their Hands. This new manner of Fighting, which had something in it of furious and desperate, surpriz'd

An Extraordinary manner of Fighting.

Anno

1645.

sorpriz'd the Enemies, but did not put them to flight, and the Victory was a long Time in dispute; the Earl of Erl's Horse, being almost all Gentlemen, were the first that open'd the Way to Conquest, by breaking the Covenanter's Horse, who fell into their Foot, and the General taking Advantage of their disorder, compleated their defeat. They lost Four Thousand Men, all put to the Sword, their Cannon, Baggage, and a great Number of Prisoners: So that there were scarce some few Run-aways left to carry the Melancholy News to Sterling. Some of them even thought, that they were not safe at Sterling, and that the Castle was not sufficient to defend them against the Enemy, and therefore rather chose to get on Board the Vessels that were at Anchor in the River, which they oblig'd to Sail immediately, and put out to Sea.

This great Victory, made the King's Party triumphant in Scotland; Montrose had left the North Part behind him, either all Subjected to the King's Obedience, or Incapable of hurting him; and this Victory open'd to him the South and the West. The Day after the Battle, he March'd on the Banks of Clyd, presented himself before Glasgow, which open'd her Gates to him. He staid there but one Day, and March'd from thence to Borthiel, where he Encamp'd, which is but Nine Miles from Glasgow, and there for several Days he receiv'd Deputies from their Towns and Counties, who came in Crouds to make their Submissions. He might have enter'd Edinburgh if he had pleas'd, but two Things restrain'd him; the one was the Plague, which was in that City, which he was afraid his Army might be Infected with, if he went thither; and the other was, the Hatred which his Troops had

Anno
1645.

The King
sends him
a Commis-
sion of Ge-
neralissi-
mo.

Lesly,
General
of the
Scotch
Covenan-
ters.

Marches
towards
Montrose

had conceiv'd against the Burghers of that Capital, whom he was not willing to Expose to the Fury of the Soldiers. But he sent the Lord Naper his Nephew thither, to demand the Prisoners of his Party that were in the Castle, who were all sent him. In this same Camp he receiv'd a Commission from the King, declaring him Commander in Chief, and Generalissimo of all his Majesty's Forces in Scotland, with absolute Authority. Montrose on his Part made all Preparations, to have the King's Authority acknowledg'd in some Shires, which still held out for the Confederates. To that end he departed from Bothnel, March'd by the Walls of Edvineborough, and took his Rout towards the Counties of Annandale, Nithesdale, and Kile, in order to oblige the Nobility there to take up Arms, whom he knew to be well affected to the King. But he was stopt at Selkirk in Tweedale, by General Lesly on the 13th of September, and in that unfortunate Day, he lost all the Fruit of so many Battles Won, if he did not lose the Glory of them.

It is a long Time since we have said any thing of Lesly; he was not however idle, having gone into England with the Scotch Troops, which he Commanded in the Parliament Army. But Fairfax and Cromwell were the only Persons spoken of, and the Name of the latter effac'd all the others; Lesly came into Scotland, to make his shine out again. He left England with so much Secrecy, and March'd out with so great Diligence, that he pass'd the Tweed, before Montrose had the least notice of his being on his March. This was a terrible surprize to the Marquis, for at that Time he was almost alone, having been abandon'd by his Officers and Troops, who either had quitted him, or else were

were absent on several Pretences ; So that he had scarce Five Hundred Men with him, and very little or no Horse. *Lesty*, who had good Intelligence by his Spies, follow'd him with Four Thousand Horse, and coming up at Night, within Six Miles of his Camp, he drew still nearer him ; when it was Day, by favour of a Fog, which hinder'd the Sentries that were Posted at the Avenues, from discovering them, till they were within Five Hundred Paces of the Town : Then they gave the Alarm, but it was then too late to draw up in order of Battle ; and besides, what was to be done with Five Hundred Foot, against Four Thousand Horse ? Nevertheless the Valiant *Montrose* was not dismay'd, but Mounting the first Horse that they brought him, he put himself at the Head of Sixscore Gentlemen, which was all the Horse he had ; and Encouraging his little Troops, he Posted himself with them on the Right of the Foot. The Covenanters could not break them, but *Lesty* coming down on the Right, with Two Thousand Horse, where *Montrose* had none, he soon Routed them, and from thence returning to the Right, he put them in the like Confusion : Almost all were kill'd or taken, very few Escap'd by flight, an *Irishman* who carry'd the Standard, was of that Number ; Having had the Courage *Montrose* to strip it from the Staff, and make a Scarf of it, *oblig'd to fly*. and came up to *Montrose*, to whom he deliver'd up the Colours.

It was a Melancholy Sight for this Valiant General, who had hitherto always put the Enemy to flight, now to see his Army flying before them, and to see himself reduced to fly. His Despair almost prompted him to do some fatal Action ;

Anno
1649.

*In this
qual Bat-
tle.*

*His fine
Retreat.*

Anno Action ; but a Moments Reflection set him
1645. Right, and Rallying about Thirty Horse, he
 Cut thro' the Enemies, who were Plundering
 the Baggage ; and in this Handsome Retreat, he
 took a Captain and two Cornets Prisoners. He
 then Arriv'd on the Banks of the *Clyd*, which
 he pass'd the next Day ; afterwards he pass'd the
Firth and the *Erne*, bending still Northward, he
 Cross'd the Shire of *Porl*, and Arriv'd in *Aber*,
 from thence he departed some few Days after,
 Cross'd the *Gramp*, and got into the County of
*Mari*². All the Winter was spent in Marches,
 and Counter-marches, from one Shire to another ; and *Montrose* was making Preparations
 for the next Campaign ; but the King's ill Fortune
 prevented his making a good use of them.
 It is now Time to return to our History.

*The Siege
of Taun-
ton Rais'd*

The King's Affairs were every Day declining
 in *England*, after the fatal Battle of *Naesby* ;
 the Victors might have pursued him, but they
 rather chose to relieve *Taunton*, and this was a
 Master-piece of the Party. For the taking of
 this Place, might have restor'd the Royalist's
 Courage, and brought all the West into their
 Party ; *Goring*, who Commanded the Siege, had
 reduc'd it to Extremity, and was just on the
 Point of carrying it, when *Fairfax*, with his
 Victorions Army, appear'd to relieve the Be-
 sieg'd. *Goring* durst not wait his coming, but
 decamp'd ; He was pursued by *Fairfax*, who
 came up with him at *Longport*, Engag'd him, and
 defeated him. Thus *Taunton* was deliver'd,
 which as the Historians say, did not suffer less
 for the Parliament of *England*, than *Saguntum*
 did for the *Roman Common-wealth* ; but more
 Fortunate in its Deliverance than that Spanish
 Town, which the cruel *Hannibal* caus'd to be
 Raz'd

Raz'd to the Ground. *Blake*, who was shut up in this Place, Signaliz'd his Valour there, which afterwards became more famous by Sea, than by Land.

Anno
1645.

A Torrent of Misfortunes, pour'd in from all Sides, on the unfortunate King, who could scarce depend upon the Fidelity of any Person; Every Day Towns falling from him, one after another; and *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*,¹ surren-
der'd after a few Days Siege; *Bridgewater*, *Bath*,²
and *Bristol* in *Somersetshire*, did the like; and the King, who was now Confin'd to *Oxford*, every Day had Tidings brought him of some Towns being taken, or a whole County reduc'd to the Obedience of his Enemies. *Bristol*, into which Prince *Rupert* had thrown himself, did not sur-
render till after a Siege of thret Weeks, from the opening of the Trenches; and an Assault given, by the favour of which, the Besiegers had set Fire to several Quarters, which oblig'd the Prince to Capitulate.

The ill
Success of
the King
and his
Forces.
¹ In Au-
gust.

The King seem'd more concern'd at the sur-
render of *Bristol*, than of his other Towns; and shew'd his Resentment in a Letter, which he wrote to Prince *Rupert*, which he concludes, with desiring him to go and look for Subsistence elsewhere. To soften the Harshness of this Ex-
pression, he added, (but that still shew'd the Bit-
terness of his Resentment) *I should Rejoice more*
than for a Victory, to have a just occasion to defend
you, without Blushing my self, who am your Affec-
tionate Uncle and Faithful Friend. He afterwards testor'd this Prince to his Affection and Esteem; who wanted neither Courage, nor Fidelity; but the King was prejudic'd against him unjustly by *Goring*. There was likewise a kind of Fatality attended the defence of that Place, Prince *Ru-*

The King
much con-
cern'd for
the Loss
of Bristol.

Lays the
Blame on
Prince
Rupert.

Anno 1645. pert was in Disgrace with the King, for the defence of it ; and so was Fiennes with the Parliament, for the same Cause.


Several
Towns re-
duc'd.

Berkley and Tiverton were deliver'd up to Fairfax ; Devizes, Lacock, and several other Castles, were forc'd to surrender to Cromwell, as well as the City of Winchester.

Basing gave him more Trouble, the Marquis of Winchester, who was the Lord of it, was in the Place ; and he that was a Zealous Partisan of the Roman Catholick Religion, as well as a Zealous Royalist, defended the Place with a great deal of Courage ; but he was forc'd to yield to the Superior Fortune of Cromwell, surrender the Castle, and remain himself Prisoner of War. But he maintain'd his Magnanimity, even in his

* Mentet. Chains, if he spoke those Words, that an Historian puts into his Mouth, when they were leading him to Prison. I have, says he, been Careful to keep my Conscience clean before God, to preserve my Fidelity to my King, and my Honour amongst Men ; It is indifferent to me, if Fortune Triumphs over the rest.

A Fine
Expression
of the
Marquis
of Win-
chester.
Fairfax
and Crom-
well's
Victories.

More Ample Victories, and more Important Conquests Crown'd so much Success ; Fairfax and Cromwell, joining again their Forces, March'd to relieve Plymouth, which the Royalists had laid Siege to, and forc'd them to Raise the Siege. At their Return from this Expedition, they took Dartmouth by Assault, and some few Days after, Fairfax defeated General Hopton at Taunton, where almost all the King's Foot were Cut to Pieces ; and this was follow'd by the defeat of Langdale, near Sherbourn.

In this declining of the Affairs of the unfortunate Monarch, he bethought himself how to save the Prince of Wales, and not to Expose him

him, with himself, to the last Extremity. To Anno
that end he wrote him two Letters, the one
dated the 17th of December 1644, and another
the 14th of November following; ordering him
to retire to some Place of Safety, either to Den-
mark, to Holland, or France, leaving the Choice
to himself. He likewise wrote to my Lord Cul-
peper, ordering him to carry the Prince into
France; Where, says he, he will find the Queen his
Mother, who will take Care of him in every thing,
except Religion; and as to that, he must be always
under the Care of the Bishop of Salisbury. After
this, Can any one doubt, that the King was not
a good Protestant? But this appear'd more fully,
in his Letter of the 11th of May 1645, written
to the Prince, whom he believ'd to be then in
France. Once more, said he, I order you to conti-
nue steadfast in your Religion, and neither to listen
to the Superstitions of Rome, nor to Sedition Do-
ctrines. Afterwards having learn'd, that the
Prince was at Jersey, and Reflecting with himself,
that his Residing, at a Popish Court might
be of fatal Consequence to him, he revok'd his
Order, and Commanded him to remain at Jer-
sey; but it was too late, and the Prince was
gone from thence before the Letter came. Thus
it was, that all the good Intentions of the un-
happy King Miscarried.

If the Year 1645, Concludes with Melancho-
ly Events, the Year 1646, was not more fa-
vourable to the King. Barnetstable in Devon-
shire, and some other little Places in the West,
open'd their Gates for the Parliamentarians.
Williams, Archbishop of York, deliver'd up his
Castle of Purin in Wales. Into which, some say,
he refus'd to admit the Prince of Wales, a little
before he went to France. And Exeter, which
had stood a great many Assalpts, could no longer

1645.
Letters
from the
King, re-
lating to
the Care
of the Re-
ligion of
the Prince
of Wales.

1646.
The King's
Misfor-
tunes con-
tinue.

Williams
delivers up
Purin Ca-
stle to the
Parlia-
ment.

Anno
1646.

resist such a Tide of Success, but submitted to the Parliament.

Oxford was almost the only Place which held out for the King, and here it was, he seem'd resolv'd to stand it to the last Extremity. The Parliament design'd to make themselves Masters of this Place likewise, and by that Means terminate the Civil War ; and oblige the King to Sacrifice Episcopacy and Arbitrary Government, to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation. At least, this was the end propos'd by the two Houses ; Cromwell perhaps, had Designs less innocent, and more Ambitious ; but those did not appear as yet.

The King's Letter to the Parliament for Peace.

But ill receiv'd.

Before the Siege of Oxford, the King wrote a Letter to the Parliament, dated the 23d of March, Containing Proposals of Peace, and Offers to disarm ; and to come in Person to London, to Act in Conjunction with the two Houses, for the Restoration of the publick Tranquillity. But they would hear of nothing from him, and he was more unfortunate, in thus having lost the Confidence of his Subjects, than in the losing of most of the Towns of his Kingdom. The Commons were so much prejudic'd against him, as to his Sincerity, that their prejudice was the occasion of sending him an Answer to his Letter, that was not so respectful as it ought to have been. They desir'd him, not to think of coming to London, until he had first given his Consent to the Proposals, which the two Chambers would draw up and send to him. They added, That if he attempted to come, notwithstanding this Remonstrance, they would give Orders to secure his Person, and to Seize on all his Retinue. The two Houses likewise order'd at the same Time, That all Persons, that had borne Arms against the Parliament, should immediately withdraw out

of

of London ; and without the Lines, which had been thrown up for the Security of the City, under Pain of being treated as Spies.

Anno
1646.

It is said, that Cromwell was in a great Measure the occasion of this Haughty Answer. That upon Advice, that the King design'd to come to London ; He came there himself, both as General of the Army, and as a Member of the House of Commons. That he had been very Active in both these Qualities, giving necessary Orders for the Defence of the City, and at the same Time, working up the two Houses to the Resolution contain'd in their Answer to the King.

Precaution being taken for the Security of the Capital, all Things were now preparing to lay Siege to Oxford, hoping to shut the King up therein, and by making themselves Masters of the Place, to make themselves Masters of his Person, and Impose on him such Conditions as the Parliament pleas'd. The King had notice of their Design ; and on his side, prepar'd to Escape out of his Enemy's Hands, and to Retire to a Place of Safety.

Cromwell
enters
London,
to prevent
the King's
coming
there.

He left
Oxford
on the
27th of
April.

Lesly at that Time laid Siege to Newark in Nottinghamshire, Commanding in chief the Scotch Covenanter's Army in England, whilst the Marquis of Argyle, and his Lieutenants, Commanded their Troops in Scotland. This was by Virtue of the Covenant between the two Kingdoms, Lesly Be-
Sign'd the 17th of August 1643, by the Depu-
ties of the Synod, and by the Members of the Scotch Parliament ; and Ratify'd the 1st of Sep-
tember following, by the two Houses of Parliament of England. By Virtue of this Covenant, and immediately after it, Lesly undertook the Siege of York, which I have spoken of in its Place ; and it was in Execution of that Cove-

Anno ^{1646.} nant, and as General of the *Covenanter's*, that he now laid Siege to Newark. If King *Charles*

could have join'd *Montrose*, he would have certaily done it ; but not being able to do that, he resolv'd to deliver himself up to *Lesly*. He thought that he should find more Love, and a safer *Asylum* with this *Scotch General*, than with those of *England* ; and that *Scotland* would be oblig'd to Protect him, in regard of the Confidence that he repos'd in them. He hop'd likewise to re-unite *Lesly* to *Montrose*, and to stir up the Jealousie of the *Scotch* against the *English*; in Case he could not obtain Peace with the latter. This way of Arguing seem'd to be Just, but the Event prov'd, that he could not possibly have taken worse Measures. It may be, there was more Appearance and Shew, than Solidity in these Reflections ; or perhaps the King's ill Fortune turn'd every thing to his Disadvantage. However, there was a seeming probability, that he might hope for every thing from a General, whom he had Created Earl of *Leven* ; but on the other Hand, what was to be expected from an Ingrate, at the Head of an Army of his Enemies ?

The King might have taken a much better Method, (as his own Historian ¹ informs us, when he Condemns indirectly, the Obstinacy of that Prince, on the Point of Episcopacy ;) and that was, that he should have slacken'd on that Point, and shewn no more Zeal for the Hierarchy, than the Queen his Wife, the Queen Regent of *France*, and Cardinal *Mazarine*. This is a Mystery that the *English* Historian lets us into.

¹ My Lord
Claren-
don.

The King's
Obstinacy
for Epis-
copacy.

Montre-
vill's Ne-
gotiation.

When, says he, the King's Affairs were desperate; the Regent of *France*, and her first, or rather sole Minister, Cardinal *Mazarine*, in Con-

cert

cert with the Queen of England, then refug'd at the French Court, sent Montrueil to England, Anno 1645. with Credentials to the King and Parliament: His Orders were, to Negotiate an Accommodation, with Power to Engage the Faith of the Crown of France, for the Performance of whatever the King should Promise, on the account of Episcopacy; For that was the fatal Point that stopt every thing, or to speak more properly, put all in Motion. The Historian adds, that France at that Time acted sincerely, and that instead of persisting, as she had hitherto done, to foment the Civil War, that now she was recover'd from that odious Policy, and seriously endeavour'd to make Peace. Her Envoy on his part proceeded thereto, with all possible Zeal and Uprightness: He employ'd all his Talents, which were not indifferent ones, to bring the Confederates to listen to a Medium, which might save the King's Honour, and obtain the Security of Presbytery, which they had so much at Heart, without Abolishing Episcopacy; For which, the King seem'd ready, and would suffer Martyrdom. He made use of the same Address with the King, to oblige him to Consent to that Abolition, in case that it should not be possible to obtain a Peace on other Terms. All his Eloquence and Application were useless, each Party alledg'd Reasons of Conscience, which they could not depart from, and the Negotiation of the Court of France had no better Success than that of the Conferences at Uxbridge.

It is certain, as the same Historian likewise observes, (who by his Capacity and Employments, must have been thoroughly acquainted with these Matters.) It is certain, I say, that the Independent Party, being always on the watch, how to obstruct a Peace, were not the

*Intrigues
of the In-
depen-
dents.*

Anno 1646. least Obstacle to the Reconciliation of the Parliament with the King. I have already mention'd that Party, and shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter; but in this Place, I shall only observe, that altho' they did not take off the Mask till the next Year, yet this Year they acted with as much Vigour, as Cunning, to plain the way for their Designs. We have already seen, that they had the disposal of every thing to their purpose, by getting the Ordinance for laying down of Offices, pass'd in both Houses; by that Means they became Masters of the Army, taking from them such Generals as they were not sure of, and putting such others in their Room, who were entirely at their Devotion. This Party was, as I have said already, and shall be oblig'd to say again, a Party really Independent of all others, being neither *Presbyterians*, altho' they had their Rise from thence, nor *Episcopalians*, from which their Party was farther remov'd than from Presbytery; and as to Government in State, they were neither for Monarchy, nor Parliament, as appear'd in the Sequel, but for a Government of their own Modelling; but it is not now the Time to speak more fully on this Head. I shall only observe, that *Vane*, *Cromwell*, and *Iretan*, made up the Triumvirate that led this dangerous Party, and from Leaders, by seeming to approve of their Measures, became the Masters; and made use of them, to bring all under the Yoke. Their Power and Capacity went so far, as that even the unhappy King was deluded by them, and perswaded that they were better affected to him, than the *Presbyterians* were. He was deceiv'd, and it was not long before he perceiv'd that he was so; but it was now too late to Escape them. Nor

The King
believes
them his
Friends.

Was

was he better advis'd, when he deliver'd himself up to the Scotch.

His Resolution being taken to that purpose, he dispatch'd the faithful *Ashburnham*, to General *Lefly* on the 15th of *April*, in order to Communicate his design to him, and to know what his Intentions were : He receiv'd such an Answer as he could wish, *Lefly* seem'd overjoy'd at the Confidence which his Majesty repos'd in him, assur'd the Messenger, that the King had not only nothing to fear, neither from him nor his Army ; but that he should be receiv'd by them, with all the Affection and Submission, that they ow'd to their lawful Sovereign. On such Assurances as these, the King did not Hesitate, but left *Oxford*, privately Cover'd with a Cap on that hid his Face, and a Valise behind him, as if he was *Ashburnham's* Servant, who follow'd him with only one *Hudson* a Minister in Company. Abandoning himself after this manner to his Fortune, which brought him safe to the Camp at *Newark* ; but it was only to betray him, as we shall see by the Sequel.

On the 24th of *April*, he arriv'd at *South-wales*, where the Scotch Quarters were ; the English that serv'd at the Siege, were on the other side of the River, which separated the two Camps. As soon as *Lefly* had notice of his Arrival, he came to wait on him, accompanied by the Principal Officers of the Army, and Kneeling, presented him with his Sword, which he held by the Point, Calling him his Lord and his King ; the Officers paid him the same Homage, and every thing seem'd to promise a happy Revolution.

But it happen'd quite otherwise, and the King was not long before he perceiv'd that his Misfortunes were not at an end. The English, who were

Anno
1646.

*He deli-
vers him-
self up
to the
Scotch.*

*'My Lord
Claren-
don says,
that Lefly
was very
much trou-
bled.'*

*He leaves
Oxford
in Dis-
guise.*

*His Re-
ception by
Lefly.*

*The King
perceives
his Faults.*

Anno 1646. were Encamp'd on the other side of the River, by that, shew'd their dislike of the King's Arrival; and far from uniting with the Scotch, they seem'd apprehensive, that the Scotch would join the King, and turn their Arms against them. This misunderstanding, was but an ill Omen for the Prince, and it was not long before he Experienced, that it avail'd him but little, to be belov'd in Scotland, whilst he was hated in England.

^{* My Lord Bellasis.} The next Day, the King sent Orders to the Governor ^{of Newark,} to surrender to the Parliamentarians, which was done; thus this unfortunate Prince betraying himself, made his Escape from one Town, where he thought he was not in Safety, only to deliver up another. He thought that he should thereby bring over the Scotch to his Interests, being Charm'd with all the Marks of Honour that they shew'd him; but he was mistaken.

^{Lesly Con-} After the Reduction of this Place, the Army decamp'd to accompany the King to Newcastle, ^{Leſly Marching on his Left, and all the Scotch Lords about him.} The Bells rang, wherever he pass'd in the Day, and Illuminations were made at Night; and the two Troops of the Light Horse of the Parliament of Edenborough, and the General, did Duty at his Quarters; but this was only an empty shew, and Affairs were not alter'd at the bottom. This was what the General made Apparent, when on his Army's Arrival at Durham, on the 13th of May, where he took up his Quarters of Refreshment; He publish'd a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons that had borne Arms against the English Parliament, to approach the King's Person, and all his Army to have any Correspondence with them.

^{Leſly's}
^{Proclama-}
^{tion.}

On

On the other Hand, the Committee Sitting at *Anno
Edinburgh*, Prohibited all manner of Persons
whatever, to go out of the Kingdom without
leave, or to ask any favour from the King ; So
that he might easily see, that he was rather in
Slavery and Prison, than at Liberty amongst the
Scotch.

There was no Room left for the King to
doubt of it, when he knew that they held a
Correspondence with the Parliament at *West-
minster*. As soon as they heard of his Escape,
they caus'd it to be Proclaim'd, that whoever
should Conceal him, was a *Treytor*, and having
been Inform'd, that he was receiv'd by the Scotch
Army, in the manner that I have mention'd,
they complain'd loudly against that Proceeding,
as a Violation of the *Covenant*. The Scotch ap-
peas'd them, by assuring them, that his Retreat
was not at all Concerted with them, and that
they would make no manner of Alteration in
their Confederacy.

The two Houses desir'd, that the King might
be sent to *Warwick Castle*, where they thought he
would be more secure than at *Newcastle*, and de-
manded that *Ashburnham* and *Hudson*, who ac-
companied the King in his flight, should be de-
liver'd up to them ; but the Scotch excus'd them-
selves from both. Indeed, they Seiz'd on *Hudson*,
who was making his Escape ; but they either
could not, or would not take *Ashburnham*, who
got off.

As for the King, he was conducted from *Dur-
ham* to *Newcastle*, where he was receiv'd as a *Scotch
King*, but Guarded as a Prisoner. The Gover-
nor Lin'd the Streets, where his Majesty was to
pass, and came himself to receive him at the
Gate, and presented him the Keys of the Town.

General

*A Procla-
mation
by the
States of
Edenbo-
rough,*

*A Procla-
mation of
the Par-
liament
at West-
minster
against
the King,*

*The Par-
liament
demand
the King
to be de-
liver'd up
to them.*

*The
Excuse
themselves*

Anno 1640. General *Lesly*, who had an Apartment in the Governor's House, quitted it with his Family, to make room for the King to Lodge there alone, and nothing of Outside and Ceremony was wanting.

The Siege of Oxford by Fairfax. Nevertheless, *Fairfax* laid Siege to *Oxford*, in the beginning of *May*: The Inhabitants seem'd determin'd to make a brave defence, and if any thing of their Courage was abated by the King's Absence, it was re-animated by the Presence of the two *Palatine* Princes who were in the Town. But on the other Hand, *Cromwell* was come up to this important Expedition, and if the Hatred which the Inhabitants bore him for his ill usage of the University, occasion'd their making a Vigorous Resistance for some Days; His Fortune and Valour soon got the better, and Triumph'd over their Hatred. Some say, that the Town Capitulated after a Siege of Six Weeks; others say, that it held out only Nine Days.

The Capitulation of the Town. It was agreed on, 1. That the Inhabitants, under which Name the Scholars were Included, should take an Oath of Fidelity to the Parliament; and on that Condition, there was to be a general amnesty for all that was pass'd. 2. It was stipulated, that the *Palatine* Princes should depart the Kingdom of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as soon as they were Cur'd of their Wounds; which was accordingly done without delay, *Prince Rupert* going into *France*, and *Prince Maurice* into *Holland*. 3. That the Soldiers of the Garrison, should be incorporated into the Parliament's Troops, and that the Lords that were then in the Town, should be conducted to *London*, there to receive such Favour and Grace, as the two Houses would be pleas'd to grant them. It is reported, that this last Article related to the

the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Holland, whom Cromwell had a design against; but they made their Escape from him, and were not found in the Town. But in Recompence, they found the Sword of State, and the Seals of all the Courts of the Kingdom. The Great Seal, the Privy Seal, the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Exchequer, and the Admiralty Seals. These were very much esteem'd, and made Prophylles of, as if with them, the Sovereignty was transferr'd from the King to the Parliament. Above all, they rejoiced at the recovery of the Great Seal, the Loss of which, had given so much uneasiness and chagrin some Years before. The Parliament however, made no use, neither of that, nor of any of the others; but caus'd them to be broken in the Presence of the two Houses, who were Extraordinarily assembled, on purpose to assist at that Ceremony.

The Duke of York, who was likewise in the Town, was not compris'd in the Capitulation, either out of respect, not to treat him as an Enemy, or for other Motives of less Civility, and to have the means of keeping him at London, where he was sent, and Lodg'd in the Palace of St. James's, where the Duke of Gloucester, his youngest Brother, and the Princess *Henriet*, his Sister, were already.

The reducing of Oxford, was follow'd by the Reduction of all the other Towns and Forts that held out till that Time for the King; Barnbury, Calne, Worcester, Woodstock, Ragland, Ludlow, Litchfield, Denby, Pendennis, and Conway Castles, all surrender'd, either willingly, or by force, to the Conquerors, before the end of the Year. It was then, that Duke Hamilton was releas'd,

Anno
1646.

W^m I. R. P.
C. 1646.
you have
seen and
read the
true and
whole story
of the
recovery
of the
Great Seal.

The Duke
of York
excepted
out of the
Capitula-
tion.

The Re-
duction of
several
other
Places.

Anno
1646.

*My Lord
Claren-
don says,
that he
was re-
mov'd
from Pen-
dennis
Castle to
Mousie
St. Mi-
chael in
Cornwall;
and that
it was
from
thence
that he
was re-
leas'd by
the Par-
liament's
Army.
2 He was
beheaded
by the
Parlia-
ment in
1649.
Montrose
oblig'd to
Raise the
Siege of
Inverness*

leas'd, from his Prison in *Pendennis Castle*, and notwithstanding the Misfortune, and the Injuries that he had receiv'd, was generous enough to return to his Service; but his Generosity cost him his Life.³

The King could not well Complain of any thing in this precipitate Reduction of his Town, but of his own ill Fortune, or of the little Courage and Fidelity of his People: But the Fault which his own Weakness, or too great Easiness of Temper occasion'd him to commit, was more prejudicial to his Affairs, than any thing else. For to bring over the Scots into his Interest, and Gain their Submission to him, he wrote to *Montrose* to disarm, to quit all his Conquests, and to put the *Covenanters* into Possession of them.

This Affectionate General of the King's, whom his Masters Disgraces, nor his own could not subdue, recover'd himself after the defeat of *Selkirk*, and with a Handful of Soldiers, kept great Armies in Awe. He open'd the Campaign of 1646, with the Siege of *Inverness*, Situate at the Mouth of the River *Nesse*, which has its Source from the *Lake*, from whence it takes its Name; and is considerable for its Post, which is one of the finest in North Scotland. *Middleton* forc'd *Montrose* to Raise the Siege, and the Engagement was somewhat to *Montrose's* Disadvantage, who wanted Horse. His Retreat to the Mountains saved him, and returning to Encamp on the Borders of *Spey Lake*, which is not far from *Lake Nesse*, he was making Preparations once more, to come before the Town, which *Middleton* had forc'd him to Raise the Siege of, and to oblige the Militia of the Country to take up Arms, by Virtue of his Commission

mission from the King ; when the Letters which that unfortunate Prince wrote to him from Newcastle, to acquaint him of the deplorable Condition that he was reduc'd to, and order him to lay down his Arms, came to Hand, and put a stop to his Designs. But it was not without some Difficulty, that he submitted to the Order, which he believ'd tended to the King's Ruine, and his own. He did not even Obey, till he had Consulted the other chief Leaders, and sent to the King, for to be Inform'd of his real Intentions from his own Mouth : For the Letters appear'd to him suspected, and he could not imagine, that the King could really write them, if he was free, or acquainted with the true Situation of his Affairs. But all his Pains were to no purpose, the Person sent by Montrose, was Introduc'd into the King's Presence ; but *Lafy* and the other chief Officers were by, who would be Witnesses to the King's Answer. Therefore, the Answer was not under less restraint than the Letters ; He repeated his Command to disarm, and to surrender to the *Covenanters*, all the Places that he had taken from them. He added, that *Montrose* and the Chiefs, must accept of the Proposals that were offer'd them by the Parliament of Scotland, and that he was very sorry that he could not get better Terms for them.

But these Proposals were very hard ones : These were the Articles, which had been already concluded on by the Committee of the Estates, which their Major General *Middleton* had caus'd to be publish'd on the 7th of July. These Articles Contain'd the Banishment of *Montrose*, of *Lindsey*, of *Mac Donald*, and of *Hurry*, who was lately come into the Royalist Party.

Anno
1646.

The King
writes to
him to
lay down
his Arms.

He sends
to the
King to
have the
Orders re-
vok'd.

The King
not in a
Condition
to revoke
them.

Anno
1646.

The Marquis of Huntley is of Opinion, that they ought not to Obey the King's Orders, he not being free to order what he would. Montrose is of Opinion to Obey, and gives his Reasons.

He Quits Scotland.

Party. All that Party were declar'd Rebels; and it was enjoin'd, that all Persons that had follow'd them, should quit them immediately, under the Penalty of Confiscation of Body and Goods. So that the King, as it were, Consecrated the Arms of the League, that had drawn up those Articles, and threw all the Odium of the Civil Wars on his own Forces. It was on this account, that the Marquis of Huntley, in a Conference with Montrose on this occasion, persisted in his Opinion to carry on the War, notwithstanding the King's Orders. For, that he durst neither write, nor speak otherwise, constrain'd as he was, by the Covenanters: But, that he could not be angry if he was disobey'd. All were of this Opinion, except Montrose, who, tho' he was more Interested than any of the rest to be of that Opinion, yet dissented from it. *The King's Orders, said he, are too Express to be Evaded; till now, they Legitimated our Arms, but since he will have us to lay them down, they will be Criminal, if we bear them longer, notwithstanding that our Intentions are Good, and that it proceeds from our Affection for his Service.* He broke up the Assembly, concluding these Words with an Air, which betray'd his Chagreen, as much as his Submission. After this, he hasten'd his Departure, which the States of Scotland had fix'd to be in the beginning of September. And indeed, he had a great deal of Reason to make haste, for it appear'd afterwards, that he was not allow'd any longer Time by the Estates, purely because they had a design to Seize him; but he discover'd their Design, and us'd so great dispatch, that on the Fifth of the Month, he took Boat at Montrose, and reach'd a Ship that was in the Road, which carried him to Norway, from

from whence he went into Denmark, From thence into France; and from France into Germany, into the Service of the Emperor; Ferdinand the Third, who made him a Marshal *De Camp* of the Empire, and sent him into Hungary, where he Gain'd as much Glory against the Turks, as he had done before in the Wars of his own Countrey. We shall see him return, and close all the bright Actions of an Heroick Life, with a Tragical Death.

The King having thus depriv'd himself of the only resource that he had to hope for from the Valour and Fidelity of this General, was reduc'd to the Discretion of the Parliamentarians of England and Scotland; and then he saw, when it was too late, that he had in vain bouy'd himself up with Hopes of Succout from the latter, against the other. At first, the English surpriz'd at the King's Retreat to the Scotch, observ'd some Measures; but it did not last long; and depending either on a good Understanding with their Brethren of Scotland, as they express'd themselves, or else despising their Arms; the English Talk'd very High, and demanded that the Scotch should deliver up the King to them.

Difficulties were started, which were not easily got over; and it is said, that the force of Gold, with which the Scotch were Corrupted by the English, prevail'd more than the Covenant. The Parliament Insisted, that the King should be put into their Hands; The Scotch, who had given their Parole to that Prince, thought themselves oblig'd to keep it, but they were very desirous, that the Covenant should be perform'd; and that the King submitting himself thereunto, should give the two Kingdoms the Satisfaction they demanded, about the Abolishing of

Anno]

1646.

Goes into
Germany.

In 1650.
The King
repents
his having
delivered
himself up
to the
Scots.

The Eng-
lish de-
mand him
from the
Scotch.

Difficul-
ties there-
on be-
tween the
two King-
doms.

Anno
1645.

*Bellievre,
Ambassa-
dor from
France,
is Medi-
ator.*

** F. Or-
leans.
He advises
the King
to aban-
don the
Bishops.*

*The King
refuses it.*

Episcopacy. This was, as it had been always; the Apple of Discord between the King and the Parliamentarians, and was the strongest Reason, or the best Pretence, that the Scotch had for delivering up that Prince (who had thrown himself into their Arms) to the Parliament, or rather to the Army of England.

The President of *Bellievre*, Ambassador from his Most Christian Majesty, was then at *London*; from whence, he went to *Newcastle*, in order to be a Mediator between the Two Parties. He did not succeed; and tho' he affected to appear Impartial, it was to no Purpose, the Parliament suspected him, and therefore had very little regard to his Remonstrances: But however, the Counsel which he gave the King ought not to have been displeasing to the Parliament, and would have prov'd welcome Advice, if the King would have follow'd it. This Minister observ'd, That the Two Kingdoms were Inflexible on the Affair of Episcopacy, he would therefore gladly have oblig'd the King to satisfy them on that Point. He consider'd, says the French Author, That it was of equal importance to Religion, to have no Bishops at all, as to have false ones. Thus it is that the Historian Stiles the Protestant Prelates; and the Ambassador having the same Prejudice, made no scruple of Sacrificing them to the King. He represented to him, That he could see no other Means left to terminate the Civil Wars, than by extinguishing *Land's* Hierarchy. This was what *Montrevil*, the former French Envoy, had represented to the King before; but he was Obstinate, and would believe neither.

Bellievre's Remonstrances were back'd by the Queen's, who was then in *France*; from whence she sent *Davenant*, to the King her Husband, to

Anno
1646.

represent to him, That the Sacrificing of Episcopacy was the only Means to obtain a Peace, and his own Restoration. The King receiv'd the Envoy but coldly, and remain'd Inflexible, notwithstanding all the Reasons that he urged. He press'd the Matter very home to the King, according to the Orders which he had receiv'd from the Queen, and conformable to the Sentiments of the Queen Regent of France, and of Cardinal Mazarin, (whom the English Historian accuses ^{of being too Partial to the Parliamentarians} Ld. Clarendon.) and let the King see, That there was no Remedy left for him, if he refus'd this Satisfaction to England and Scotland. Indeed, it was this fatal Article, more than that of the Militia, which made the whole Negotiation Abortive, and which, by the renewal of the Covenant between the Two Nations, oblig'd the Scotch to deliver up the unfortunate King into the Hands of the English.

But the English Money had as great a Share in this Event, as the Zeal of either Nation for the Presbyterian Party. Some will have it that Cromwell was the Author of this Expedient, by which, he said, they should abridge all Disputes, and gain more, than by Conferences, or even the winning of many Battles. Some Authors report, That Two Millions was the Price privately agreed on, besides a greater Sum for the Payment of the Scotch Army, who refus'd to quit the Borders of England, until they were paid what was owing to them, according to the Agreement made with the Parliament of England. Others say, That it was agreed on to pay the Scotch Five Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, in Satisfaction of all Accounts, without making any mention of the King's Person,

The
Scotch
Army de-
liver up
the King
to the
English
Parlia-
ment.

Anno
1646.

*A fine Ex-
pression of
the King's.*

*An Act of
Parlia-
ment in
Scotland,
touching
the deli-
vering up
of the
King's
Person.*

and that Two Hundred Thousand was to be paid down. When this Payment was made, the Scotch Army return'd into Scotland, and left the King in the Hands of Deputies from the Parliament of England. Whatever the Agreement was, some Time after there was no room to doubt, that the King was deliver'd up upon such Infamous Terms ; and the unfortunate Monarch speaking of that scandalous Bargain, was heard to say, *That he was better satisfy'd to be with those that had dearly bought him, than with those that had basely sold him.*

To stifle the Knowledge, or at least give a Colour to this Action, the Scotch in their Parliament drew up an Act, by which they laid the whole blame of the King's being kept in Custody, on the unhappy Prince himself. They alledg'd a great many Reasons, the Chief of which, was, as I have said, his refusing to approve of the Covenant, and to abolish Episcopacy : The only Means, said they, to put an end to the Divisions of the Two Kingdoms, and to restore the Tranquillity of Church and State. They added, That the King came to the Camp at Newark with those Intentions, or at least, that he had let the Generals of the Army know as much, who would not have received him, but on the Belief, that he would have perform'd what he promis'd. That having afterwards refused to do it, they could not do otherwise than agree with the English Parliament, about the Guard, Safety, and Dignity of his Majesty's sacred Person. That the King himself had desir'd to be put into the Hands of the English Deputies, and that they had agreed with theirs, (the Scotch) That his Majesty should be conducted to Holmby Castle with such Attendance, as the Two Houses at Westminster,

Westminster should think fit to Order ; that this, nevertheless, should only be until such Time as the King would be pleas'd to give the Two Kingdoms the Satisfaction that they demanded ; and that in the Interval, no Change should be made in the Government, nor no Prejudice ensue to the King and his Posterity in the Possession and lawful Succession of the Two Crowns. Such, said they, to conclude, was the Intention of the Scotch Parliament, to which they hop'd the English would conform. If the Scotch had really such Hopes, they were mistaken, and the ill-minded English, having once got the King into their Custody, had less Thoughts of reconciling Matters with him, than of Plunging him into new Dispair, which at last was the Cause of his Tragical Catastrophe.

Anno
1646.



Whilst these Things were Transacting, the Earl of Essex died suddenly ; his Death was thought to be violent by some, who suspect that he was poison'd by some of the King's Enemies, who were Jealous, that this Lord design'd to have been reconciled to the King ; but others assure us, that he died of an Apoplexy ⁷, equally lamented by both Parties.

The Death
of the
Earl of
Essex.
On the
14th of
Septem-
ber.

⁷ My Lord
Claren-
don seems
to be of
this Opin-
ion.

1647.
The King
brought
to Holm-
by.

⁸ Ludlow
says, that
he over-
heated
himself at
Hunting.

It was in the beginning of the Year 1647, that the King was carry'd from Newcastle to his House at Holmby, ⁸ which from one of his Houses of Pleasure, was chang'd into his Prison ; where, the Guards allotted him by the Parliament, were rather his Goalers, than Domesticks. A deplorable Condition this, for a great King to be reduc'd to ; but we shall soon see him suffer more unworthy Treatment, such as will Rouse a whole Train of Melancholy Reflections. It was on the 8th of February, that the Earls of Pembroke, and Denbigh, my Lord Montague, and

Anno several Knights, being deputed by the Two Houses, came to Newcastle, and brought the King from thence to Holmby ; and it is from thence, according to some Authors, that the King sent Two Proposals to the Two Houses ; the one was, To receive him in Parliament with all the Honours that were due to him ; for that (as he alledg'd) there was no enjoying of perfect Tranquillity, whilst the Two Powers were divided, and that the Head was not united to the Members. The other Proposal, which was only a Consequence of the first, consisted in a general Amnesty for all that had pass'd on both Sides. But others will have it, that these Proposals were sent by the King whilst he was at Newcastle ; but all agree, that the Parliament rejected them, and to that added a Second Indignity more outragious than the first ; that was, the Two Houses let the King know, That they would hear of no Accommodation until he had revoked his Declarations against them, and acknowledg'd, that they had taken up Arms against him only to maintain the Laws, and preserve the Privileges of the Nation.

Unwillingly Treasured by the Parliament.

* Rague-net.

* Milton.

Lastly, It was likewise in this Retirement that the King wrote that Work, which he addresses to the Prince of Wales, under the Title of *Eizur Eastiiskn*, worthy, says an Historian⁹, to be compared to *Tacitus*, for Political Reflections, and to *St. Bernard*, for Piety and Christian Morals. But his Enemies do not speak so Advantagiously of it : Some say, That he did not write it till the next Year, in his Prison at *Hurst Castle*, in the *Isle of Wight* ; and others give the Honour of that Book to Doctor *Gauden*, whose Pen, they say, the King made Use of ; but a Modern Historian assures us, That Doctor

Doctor

Doctor only corrected the Press, and that the King himself was the genuine Author.

Anno
1647.

The Ri-
gour of
the Parlia-
ment.

The King pass'd Four or Five Months very Melancholy in the Solitude of Holmby, almost without any Conversation, and even without the Comfort of hearing his ordinary Preachers. He sent twice to the Parliament a List of Twelve Divines, amongst whom some were Bishops, and left it to them, to choose out any Two that they pleas'd ; but they had the Cruelty to deny him even this Satisfaction, under the pretence, that they were all suspected Persons ; and in their stead, sent him Two Presbyterian Ministers, *The King's Piety.* however, he endeavour'd to Comfort himself by reading the Holy Scriptures, and other Exercises of Devotion, such as Prayers and Fasting, which he constantly observ'd every Friday.

As for Acts of Royalty, they would not admit him to perform any, except that of Touching for the King's-Evil, a Ceremony which the Historian carries back as far as Edward the Confessor, more than Three Hundred Years before pernicious. Edward the Third allow'd the Title of King of France. Whatever was the Original of the Ceremony, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, declar'd the Practice of it Superstitious, and the Two Houses publish'd a Prohibition of it, with severe Penalties to any Persons that should partake of it for the future.

It is no wonder then, that the King thus un-Deputies
worthily treated in his Solitude, should be uneas-
from Scot-
sie ; and it was then, according to some Au-
thors, that he desired to be brought nearer to
London. The Terms of Peace that were then
propos'd to him by the Two Kingdoms, were
the Motives that engag'd him to demand it,

Anno 1647. and from thence he flatter'd himself with Success in such a Conjunction, and built great Hopes thereon. This was a slender Ray of Deliverance, which soon disappear'd. It is certain that the Scotch were seriously desirous of Peace, and that the Estates, before they separated, deputed the Earl of Lauderdale on the 27th of March, with Two other Lords, and Three Knights to the Parliament of England, to entreat them that they would appoint Deputies for that important Work ; But the fatal Affair of Episcopacy, and the King's refusal to Sign the Covenant, were insurmountable Obstacles, which made this Negotiation as abortive as the others.

Offers from the King Rejected.

The King, by his Letter the 12th of May, to the Two Houses at Westminster propos'd, but in vain, That the Signing of the Covenant should be suspended for a Time, until he was better inform'd of some Difficulties, which gave him uneasiness ; and that the abolishing of the Episcopal Liturgy should be deferr'd for Three Years. It was in vain too, that he propos'd to resign the Militia for Ten Years, and the command of the Troops and Fleet to the Parliament. In vain too, he offer'd to grant them all the Liberties and Privileges that they should ask, provided that he were permitted to go to London, and be present in Parliament. He concluded his Letter with this Demand, and with an Amnesty, which he look'd on to be equally necessary for both Parties, To heal up the Wounds, and to take off all Ombrage of Fear and Diffidence from either Side. These Two Articles are already mention'd, and by some Authors plac'd in the Time of his Residence at Newcastle.

The

The King's Letter of the 12th, was not read Anno
in the Parliament till the 19th, and it did pro- 1647.
duce the entire Effect which his Majesty expected, at least, it gain'd him a Removal from Holmby nearer London. The Lords, who were less Rigid than the Commons, were mov'd with the Melancholy Condition of their Sovereign, and in order to make his retirement more easie to him, they order'd that he should be remov'd to Oatlands in Surry, a Royal House on the Thames, about Twenty Four Miles from London. The Commons, tho' less Compassionate than the Lords, would have no Contest with them on that Head, but conform'd to their Resolution.

Every Thing seem'd then, to contribute to the restoring of his Majesty, and of the publick Tranquillity ; and in the Interval of the Removal to Oatlands, the Two Houses apply'd themselves to give Orders for the Government of the Kingdom, and for the Paying off, and the disbanding of the Army. They resolv'd to reduce them to two Thousand Horse, and as many Foot, which were to be sent to Ireland. The Complaints from Essex, contributed a great deal to this Disbanding of the Army ; That County had been extreamly harrass'd by the Army that quarter'd there, and they sent their Deputies to represent the Extortions which they groan'd under, and at the same Time, the uselessness of the Troops ; to which they added likewise, the Danger that there was, that the Army might attempt to give Law even to the Parliament. They foresaw indeed an Evil which was not far off, the first Spark of which, we are now just going to see, which afterwards set the whole Kingdom in a Flame.

Whilst

Anno 1647. Whilst the Parliament were apply'd to about discharging the Army, which gave them Umbrage, and gaul'd the Country ; the Army, without having any regard to the diffidence of the one, or the Complaints of the other, thought how to Maintain themselves, and get all the Authority into their own Hands. **Cromwell**, who was the Great mover of the whole, did not think it proper to appear himself at first, nor to let the whole Army act at once : He was determin'd to found the Way first, and that his Emissaries, who were soon known by the Name of *Agents, or Agitators*, should make the first Step.

The Officers present Insolent Petition.

They therefore presented two Petitions to the Parliament ; by the first, they demanded that a Bill should be brought in, declaring that the Sovereignty was in the People, and to Establish a Republican Government ; and by the second, they demanded Justice against some of the Members of the House of Commons, who, they alledg'd, had prevaricated in their Offices : That is to say, those Members that were not for them. The two Houses rejected these Petitions, as Seditions, order'd them to be burnt by the Hangman before the Exchange, and in the Court of the Palace of Westminster, which was Executed accordingly. The City of London seem'd please'd at this Proceeding, and to demonstrate it, they sent a Deputation to the two Houses, to assure them, that they not only had no Hand in those Insolent Petitions that were presented to them, but that they offer'd to give all necessary Assistance against the Authors. The Parliament order'd the Deputies to be thank'd by their Speaker, and being Encourag'd by the Affection of the Capital, they apply'd themselves in good earnest to Reform the Troops.

They

Rejected by the Parliament.

They Nam'd those that were to be sent to ~~Eng-~~
Land, and appointed Major General Skippon to
Command them. They fix'd the Number that
was to remain in England, under General
Fairfax, who was only to have Colonels under
him, all other Posts that were above that Rank,
being to be laid aside. They order'd too, that
all Officers should Subscribe the Covenant. That
none who had born Arms against the Parlia-
ment, should continue in the Troops, nor any
that led scandalous Lives. And lastly, that all
Officers should be appointed by the two Houses.
Thus the Parliament thought to Establish its
Authority ; but it was this that destroy'd it.

Whilst these great Strokes were struck against
the Army, the Army struck a bolder against
the King, and soon after, another bolder, even
against the Parliament. On the 4th of June,
when the King was preparing to leave Holmby,
to go to Oailands, he was very much surpriz'd
to see his Castle invested by Arm'd Men, who
had Orders to carry him elsewhere. This was
one Cornet Joyce, a Taylor formerly by Trade,
and now one of the Agitators, who at the Head
of Five Hundred Horse, came to acquaint the
King of this Order. The King desir'd to know
from what Part they came, and if they had a
design to take him away by force? Joyce An-
swer'd, that they came from the whole Army,
that they should be sorry to use Violence; but
that in short, they must bring him with them;
and on what his Majesty desir'd of them, that
they would not force his Conscience, Joyce An-
swer'd, that their Profession was to force no
Man's Conscience, and much less the King's. He is
The King then propos'd, that they might carry brought
him to Newmarket, and Joyce Consented. He so New-
market
was

Anno

1647.

The Par-
liament
apply to
the Refor-
mation of
the Troops

The Army
Seize on
the King.

My Lord
Claren-
don says
only Fifty.

Anno
1547.

*The State
of the
English
Army.
The Agi-
tators.*

*What the
Indepen-
dants
were.*

Cromwell
makes
himself
Head of
the Inde-
pendants.

was then carry'd in his Litter, in the midst of the Horse, which Encompass'd him all along the Road, in a manner not very Respectful.

Before we look into the Consequences of this Action, we must first tell the Cause of it, and the Heads ; and this is the proper Place to give an Idea of this Army, which Seiz'd on the Government, by the favour of their *Agitators* and *Independents* ; and of *Cromwell*, who was at the Head of both. It happen'd with the English Army now, as it did formerly with the Roman, when they on their Disbanding, under the Reigns of their Emperors, took the Liberty to chuse the Heads of their Revolt out of the *Centurions*. The English, in Imitation of them, Chose out of their Officers, Persons of Enterprizing Natures, and Capable of supporting them in theirs. It was to these new Officers of their own Creation, that they gave the Name of *Agitators*. As for the *Independants*, they were a Sect, Born amongst the *Presbyterians*, and differing from them, only about Church Government ; Rejecting, not only Episcopacy, as well as they, but likewise all manner of Superiority, of one Church over another ; and from thence they took the Name of *Independants* : Nor were they less so, in relation to Government in the State, as I have said already. The *Presbyterians* were much more Numerous than the *Independants*, both in *London*, and in the Country ; but the *Independants* were the strongest in the Army, where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* made them Reign, as they did him afterwards in his Turn.

Authors do not agree precisely, as to the Time when these *Independants* and *Agitators* first began to appear ; but it was certainly in this Year, that they first made themselves formidable. They

They say, that Cromwell from a Presbyterian, turn'd Independant, because that Sect was more according to his Genius, and likewise favour'd his Ambition more.

Anno
1647.

It is likewise said, that it was he that Created the *Agitators*; that he himself propos'd the Project to Ireton; and that they two join'd to bring it to bear. To that End, they Establish'd an Agent to each Regiment, to take Care of the Affairs of the Corps; All these Agents together, Compos'd a Kind of a Court, over which some one of the Council of War presided, and from thence came their Name of *Agitators*³, which they prefer'd to the Name of Agents. This latter seeming more agreeable to Men of Business, than War. But others³ say, that on the contrary, the Army having some diffidence of Cromwell, for their own Preservation, Created *Syndicks*, or *Clerks*, in every Regiment of Foot, and Troop of Horse; and that they chose for that Employment, the most Mutinous and Troublesome Persons, to whom they gave the Name of *Agitators*. They add, That this Office was Created during Fairfax's Absence, whose Indisposition had oblig'd him to go to London to be Cut'd of the Stone, and whilst Cromwell was at Westminster in the House of Commons. That at his return to the Army, he found this Military Tribunal Establish'd, and that instead of dissolving it, he thought it proper to preserve it, and make himself the Head of it: That thus, he turn'd a Cabal to his Advantage, that was first design'd to destroy him, and made use of them afterwards effectually to his purpose.

From whence
the Name
of Agita-
tors came.

³ My Lord
Claren-
don says,
they were
call'd so
from their
Agita-
tions and
Seditions.

Menter
and F.
Orleans.

Cromwell
makes
himself
Head of
them.

The Con-
tents of a
Petition
from the
Army.

This Action of the Army, was preceded by a Petition to the two Houses, without Communicating it to the Generals, who were both Ab-

sent;

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1647.

The Officers present a second more respectful.

sent; Fairfax taking Physick in London, and Cromwell in the House of Commons. The Substance of the Petition was, that Provision shoul be made for the Recompence of some, and the Subsistence of others, before they were discharg'd; and that a general amnesty should be granted for every thing that had been transacted during the War. The two Houses were offend'd at the Petition, and the Army being unwilling to draw on themselves the Parliament's Resentment, sent them a Justification of their Petition. The Officers in whose Name it was drawn, Express'd themselves in very Respectful Terms. They acknowledg'd the Sovereign Authority of the Parliament; Protested the Sincerity of their Submission, from which they had no manner of design to fall off, nor no design to Embroil that Authority with the King's, whose Concurrence, it was true, they had demanded to their Petition; but only with design to unite the two Powers, and not to divide them. That as to the Recompence of their Services, and the Maintainance of the Orphans and Widows of those who had lost their Lives in Fighting for their Countrey, they did not Imagine, that there was any thing in so lawful a Demand, that could any ways derogate from the Respect, which they ow'd to the Sovereignty of the two Houses, to whom they still continued to Address themselves with a profound Submission; In order to obtain from their Justice and Liberality a Recompence, proportion'd to the Service of those that were alive, and sufficient to comfort the Families of those who had lost their Lives, in the Defence of the Liberties of their Fellow Citizens. Very near such as this, was the Language of the Mutinous Legions I have spoke

spoke of, who Protested their Obedience to the Emperor and the Senate ; but nevertheless, were not a bit less Seditious. The Petition, or the Apology being Read, it was order'd, that they should hold to the Resolution, which they had taken to Disband the Troops ; but that they might not Irritate them, they order'd that a Sum of Money should be ready to be distributed amongst the Officers and the Soldiers ; and they assur'd them, that the Amnesty which they demanded, should be Granted them. It was likewise order'd, that Major General Skippon, Lieutenant General Cromwell, Commissary Ireton, his Son-in-Law, and Colonel Fleetwood, should have the Charge of Notifying that Ordinance to the Army ; So that passing thro' the Channel of their Leaders, it might be more acceptable to them. But the Four Commissioners found the Minds of the Army so Irritated, that instead of being able to dispose them to Obey, two of them were forc'd to return with a new Petition ; Containing in Substance, pretty near the same Demands with the former, and Repeated Instances to the two Houses, that they would Grant them in Precise Terms the Pay, and Amnesty which they pretended to.

It was then that *Cromwell*, who had an admirable Talent to prevail with those that hearken'd to him, knew so well how to Insinuate himself with the *Agitators*, that they Nam'd him their Chief, and were perswaded, that they could not Entrust their Interests in better Hands. They were not indeed mistaken ; but *Cromwell's* Views were far more Extensive than theirs, and he thought of Maintaining them only to make use of them, to Raise himself on the Ruins of the Monarchy, the Foundations of

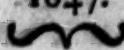
Anno
1647.
VVVV

*The Con-
duct of
the Par-
liament.*

*Displease
the Army.*

*Crom-
well's
Abilities
and Au-
dition.*

Anno
1647.



which he began to sap. The first Step that he took for the Execution of this bold Design, was the taking the King away from Holmby Castle. For it is not at all doubted, that Joyce acted by his Order; this was done at the Time, when he with Fleetwood, were Charg'd with the Army's Petition, which they two presented to the two Houses. They on their side began to perceive, that the Sovereign Authority was slipping out of their Hands, and that it was going from the Parliament to the Army. They did all they could to preserve it, endeavouring to appease the seditious Soldiery, and to that purpose, drawing up Regulation upon Regulation, Ordinance upon Ordinance, and in short, Granting them every thing that they demanded, provided they would but Disband. This was not the design of the Agitators, and much less Cromwell's; who every Day rais'd new Complaints, and new Grievances, for which the Army demanded Satisfaction, Protesting not to disarm till they receiv'd it. Thus all the Time was spent in Vain Contests, by which the two Houses, and even the Generalissimo Fairfax, and Major General Skippon, were dup'd; until the carrying away of the King discover'd more plainly the Intentions of those that Executed a Design, which Surpriz'd all the World.

Fairfax
Justifies
himself
from ha-
ving any
Hand in
it.

Fairfax, unknown to whom this Enterprize was Concerted, and put in Execution, was very much Surpriz'd at it; and wrote to the Parliament to assure them, that he had no Hand in it; and that as soon as he had notice of it, he immediately sent Colonel Whalley, with his Regiment to get before the King, and to Secure his Person; For he Imagin'd, that the King himself had caus'd himself to be carry'd off. He concluded

concluded his Letter, with assuring the two Houses, that he would be Careful to maintain a good Understanding between them and the Army. Fairfax spoke really as he design'd, but he was Ignorant that it was no longer in his Power; and that Cromwell, much more Cunning than he, had gain'd the Ascendant over the Minds of the Soldiery, and led them where-ever he pleas'd.

*Cornet Joyce
died
clares that
he took
the King
by Crom-
well's Or-
ders.*

Cornet Joyce, his Action, which was done by his Secret Orders, is a terrible Proof of this. At first, Cromwell disown'd it, and made the same Protestations that Fairfax did, to the two Houses; but the feint did not last long. The Deputies from the Parliament to Fairfax on this occasion, meeting Joyce on the Road to Newmarket, where the King was not as yet arriv'd, told the Cornet, that he deserv'd to have his Head cut off; but that Officer, who knew he had a good Guarantee for the Action in Cromwell, was not at all startled, nor afraid to tell them, that he had done nothing but by his Orders. Cromwell on his side, was apprehensive of neither the Parliament, against whom the Army was his Security, nor of Fairfax, over whom he had entirely the Ascendant. The Truth is, that he perswaded Fairfax, that he could do nothing that was of greater Advantage to the Army, and the Generals thereof; and at the same Time, more useful to the Church and State. That the King was on the Point of making an Accommodation with the Parliament, who had already determin'd to send Colonel Graves to fetch him from Helmsby to London. That if he had not been prevented by Joyce, there would have been an end of them, and of the Army; and that all the Pains which they had taken for the publick Good, would not only then have been useless,

*The Rea-
sons that
Cromwell
gives for
doing it.*

Anno 1647. but even Criminal: These Reasons appeas'd Fairfax, and the King proceeded to Newmarket. But nevertheless the two Houses, after the departure of their Deputies, having written to Fairfax, to Exhort him to bring back the King to Holmby; He design'd to have Obey'd, and coming to the King to Chilfley near Huntington; he told him his Orders, and that he was resolv'd to Execute them. But the King having Intimated to him, that his removal was not disagreeable to him, he left him to pursue his Journey.

The Scotch
Deputies
are re-
fus'd to
be admit-
ted to see
the King.

The Ar-
my and
Parlia-
ment di-
spute a-
bout the
King's
Person.

The Army
insult the
Parlia-
ment.

The Estates of Scotland resented the carrying off of the King, as much as the Parliament of England; and the Earl of Lauderdale was Deputed from them to assure his Majesty of their Affection; but the Officers of the Army would not suffer him to come near the King, and were not afraid to violate the Right of Nations, as well as that of Kings, by that refusal.

Thus the unhappy King, after having been the Game of the Parliament, became that of the Army; and thus it was that the Parliament and Army began to be embroil'd one with the other, on Account of the Destiny of this unfortunate Prince, and of the Government of the Kingdom; the Cure of which, the Parliament on the one side, and the Army on the other, equally pretended to.

All the Year was spent in Contests, and the Army bearing all before them, remain'd Masters of the King's Person, insulted the two Houses, who endeavour'd to maintain their Authority, and limit that of the Soldiery; turn'd out and restor'd at Pleasure, such Members of the House of Commons as were suspected by them; enter'd in Triumph into the City of London; remov'd the unfortunate King from Place to Place, and suffer'd

suffer'd him to escape from Time to Time, only Anno
to make a Crime of his Escape, and to have a 1647.
pretence to Condemn him. I shall not here re-
late all the Steps of the Army and of the Par-
liament, the Particulars would be too tedious,
and would rather perplex than clear the His-
tory; I shall therefore only describe the principal
Events.

On the 5th of June, the Army being en- They de-
camp'd about Cambridge, oblig'd General Fairfax to carry a Petition from them to the two mand Ju-
Houses, from whom they demanded Justice on those
those Members that had stil'd them *Seditious*, that op-
and protested to pay no more Obedience to the post their
Parliament, than the Parliament on their side
would shew Affection for them. The Petition
was presented, and the two Houses return'd a
favourable Answer; and to shew their greater
Esteem for the Army, they deputed the Earl of
Nottingham, my Lord Ware, Sir Harry Vane,
and Major General Skippon, who was at that
Time at Westminster.

These Deputies met the Army on their March They ad-
towards London; the Counties of Essex, Suffolk vance to-
and Norfolk had given Grounds, or at least serv'd ward
for a pretence, for this Movement, by the In- towards
stances that they had made to them, praying, that London
they would not suffer themselves to be disband-
ed until all the Nations Grievances were redress'd. By what Means soever this Request of
the Counties was made (for we are not inform'd
from what Spring it proceeded) it was receiv'd
with Joy by the Army, and Fairfax could not
refuse the Soldiers their Request of Marching to
London without delay, in order to bring the
City to, or to keep it in their Interests.

Anno
1647.

The Parliament and the City send Deputies to them.

Cromwell and Ireton are under-band the occasion of this March.

Manifesto's dispers'd.

The two Houses were alarm'd at the Army's Approach to the City, and sent them Deputies; but as the Parliament betray'd Condescendance or Weakness; the Army in proportion finding the Superiority in them, took on themselves Airs of Haughtiness and Pride. The two Houses being moy'd with the rigorous Usage that the King suffer'd at *New-Market*, wrote to General *Fairfax*, that he would remove his Majesty from thence to *Richmond*, about ten Miles from *London*; but the Army eluded that Demand, and March'd themselves towards the City.

It was *Cromwell* and *Ireton* that inspired the Soldiery with this Boldness, or to speak more properly, with this Spirit of Sedition. They caus'd Manifesto's to be dispers'd, which under the pretence of Maintaining the Nation's Liberties, of which they alledg'd, that the Army was more Jealous than the two Houses, tended only to gain the Authority to themselves, which they design'd to Ravish, not only from the King, but from the Parliament. They alledg'd in these Manifesto's, that they had taken up Arms at first, and continued Arm'd still, only in the defence of their Laws, Liberties, and Religion: That if they did it now without the Authority of the King, and the Estates; It was to be imputed to the unhappiness of the Times, which would not permit them to observe Formalities. That in such a Conjunction, the Soldiers might bind their General, that would Point his Cannon against them; or a Ship's Crew their Pilot, that would Steer the Vessel on Rocks. That besides, such as this, was the Conduct of the united Provinces, when they threw off the Yoke of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and such, that of the *Portuguese*, when they reclaim'd their Rights; and lastly, such was lately the Conduct

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duct of the Scotch Covenanters, when they drew up their famous *Covenant*. They concluded, with insisting, that the King could not be restor'd, but in such a manner as was agreeable to the People's Liberties; which was to say, in other Terms, that he could not be restor'd, but in such a manner, as it should please this seditions Army to have it, who gave what Explanation and Extent they pleas'd to those Liberties.

It is not to be wonder'd at, that these Mani-
festo's were relish'd by the Army; but that
which is surprizing, is, that they should meet
with Applause in the Countrey. Thus it is,
that every thing Conspires to bring about the
most fatal Revolutions, when the unhappy Pe-
riod is arriv'd. We have already seen the Con-
currence of the Counties of *Essex*, *Norfolk*, and
Suffolk, with the Army; *Buckinghamshire* and
Hertfordshire follow'd their Example, and pre-
sented their Petitions to the General, begging
him not to disarm, until the Complaints of the
Nation were fully heard and redress'd: Thus
the Army was Establish'd Arbitrator of the Na-
tion's Differences, and the Court of *Agitators*
rose Superior to that of the King, and of the
Parliament. This was (as we shall see by the
sequel) only to destroy both, and to Raise on
their Ruins a Power more Absolute, and more
Arbitrary, than that which the People dreaded
so much, who gave themselves a Master, when
they thought they were only getting themselves
Protectors.

The Army still remaining at the Gates of
London, and being thus supported by the Coun-
try, proceeded to their Ends by degrees, gui-
ded by the Dexterous *Cromwell*, who was the great
Spring of Action; rather than *Fairfax*, who in-
stead

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** They de-
mand that
Eleven of
the Mem-
bers may
be su-
spended
from Ses-
sion in the
House.*

Waller,
Staple-
ton, Clot-
worthy,
Lewis,
Maynard,
Hollis,
Nicol,
Massey,
Long,
Harley,
Glynn.

*The Ele-
ven Mem-
bers retire.
The Army
draw up
a Plan of
Govern-
ment.*

stead of being the Mover, was drawn in himself. The Army had not as yet Nam'd the Members, whom they suspected ; but now they did it, and accus'd Eleven by Name * of fomenting of a Misunderstanding between the Army and the Parliament. They afterwards demanded, that they should be suspended from Session in the House ; and that the House should proceed to their Tryals, on Memoirs and Proofs, which they Engag'd to bring against them. The House Complain'd, that this was a Violation of their Priviledges, and that no Member could be suspended from his Place in Parliament on a bare Accusation : But this was in Vain, they were Answer'd, that they had themselves proceeded after the same manner against the Earl of Straf-ford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Keeper Finch. The City of London like-wise Interested themselves in Vain, on the side of the House of Commons, the Army persisted in their demand, and the Eleven Members being apprehensive of the Consequences of the Sedition, demanded leave to retire.

The Army were not satisfy'd with this Submission ; the more was Granted them, the more they Demanded : I have already spoken of their Council of War, and of their Agitators, these two Courts being join'd, drew up a Plan of Government, which they sent to the two Houses. It contain'd Twenty Three Articles, which tended chiefly to Maintain the Authority of the two Houses, and to weaken the King's, if not entirely to destroy it. Commissioners were appointed to Examine this Project ; but these Negotiations were Interrupted by other Movements, which like so many Waves, came one on the back of the other, when the Storm put them in Motion.

On

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The Parli-
aments too
great
Complai-
sance for
the Army.

On the 18th of July, the Council of War presented a Petition to the two Houses, to demand the Annulling of the Ordinance, which gave Liberty to the Magistrates of the City of London, to Name the Officers of the Militia, which they had done. But the Army not being satisfy'd with this new Election, would have it Revok'd, as well as the Ordinance that Authoriz'd it; and that the Command of the Militia should be restor'd to their first Leaders. The two Houses had the Complaisance to Grant this likewise; but they had the Chagreen to observe, that they did not put an end to the Disorders thereby, but that they rather Encreas'd them: For by satisfying the Army, whom they would gladly remove from about London, they dissatisfy'd the City so much, that the Apprentices took up Arms, invested the Palace of Westminster, and caus'd the last Ordinance to be Revok'd, and the Election of the Officers of the new Militia to be Confirm'd.

This Violence turn'd to the Advantage of the Army, and its Agitators, or rather to the Advantage of Cromwell, who was the Soul of it, and for whom, Fortune Plain'd the Way to Power. Eleven or Twelve of the Lords, and a Hundred of the Commoners, fearing the Fury of the Militia, and of the Prentices, left London, and fled to Windsor for Refuge, which was at that Time the Head Quarters of the Army. They were receiv'd with open Arms, and this was a new pretence for the Army to draw nigh to London. The Divisions in the City, between the Militia and the Citizens, hasten'd likewise the March of the Troops; and Fairfax having assembled them, led them to the long desir'd City. The Refugees from the two Houses, March'd along with them, being resolv'd, (said

Their In-
solence
Encreases.

Draw
nigh to
London.

*Anno
1647.* they) to Live and Dye with them, for their Liberties and Religion. Puff'd up with this Reinforcement, they declar'd by their Agitators, and the Council of War, that whatever had been transacted by the two Houses, since the 25th of July, the Day that the Twelve Lords, and One Hundred Commoners had left them, was unlawful and Null; and that all Authority was devolv'd on the Army, strengthen'd as it was by these Members, who Compos'd the Parliament, and the Army was bringing back to *Westminster*.

*Usurp all
Authori-
ty.*

*The She-
riffs of the
City of
London,
come and
submit to
the Gene-
ral.*

On their Approach, the Face of Affairs quite chang'd in London: On the 5th of August, the Sheriffs came out to meet them, and to make the Submissions of the City. The General demanded, That all Forts should be put into their Hands; that the new Militia should be discharg'd; that the City should receive what Troops he thought proper to send there, to be Quarter'd in what Parts he pleas'd; and that they should deliver up the Eleven Members, that had Incurr'd the Displeasure of the Army. They consented to all, and in order to Execute it, he sent Colonel *Hammond* with two Regiments of Horse, and three of Foot, who took Possession of the Forts: But the Eleven Members made their Escape: some beyond Seas, and others into the Countrey to their Houses.

*Cromwell
Invests
the Palace
at West-
minster.* The next Day, *Cromwell* Invested the Palace at *Westminster*, plac'd the Guards in the Court, in the Hall, and even at the Doors of the two Houses. Some little Time after, General *Fairfax* came with the Twelve Lords, and the Hundred Commoners, who came to take their Places in the House, and were receiv'd, not only without any Opposition, but with the loud Acclamations of the People, and the Universal Applause of

of the two Houses. The Earl of *Manchester*, made a Speech to the General in the House of Lords ; and the Speaker of the House of Commons, spoke his Panegyrick in their House ; the Soldiers had likewise their share in the publick Joy, and were gratify'd with a Months Pay Extraordinary. Two Days after, the Army March'd in Triumph cross the City, the General surrounded by his Light Guards, and being well Mounted, lead the Avant Guard ; Major General *Skippon* lead the Main Body, and *Cromwell* the Rear Guard : All the Soldiers had Laurel Branches in their Hats, as if they would Imitate or surpass the *Roman* Legions, who us'd to Wreath the Axes and Fasces of their Victorious General with Laurel. After this Pompous Entry, the Army was distributed into Quarters in *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Essex*, and thus they surrounded the City.

The rest of this Year, and the beginning of the next, was spent in strange Vicissitudes ; One might see the Army, not only again divided and reconcil'd with the Parliament, but likewise divided in it self into two Factions. One might see it even diffident of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and to separate from them ; and on the other Hand, one might see those two Leaders either seriously, or else by feint, uniting with the King, and soon afterwards falling off from him, and reconciling themselves with the *Agitators*. In short, one might see that poor unhappy Prince, Toss'd about by his ill Fortune, Embroil'd and Reconcil'd, sometimes with one Party, sometimes with another, diffident of All ; Reconcil'd to *Scotch*, and not daring to trust them ; Escaping from the Parliament Army, seeking an *Asylum* in the *Isle of Wight*, where he found as little Fidelity, as elsewhere ; deliver'd up by the

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The Par-
liament's
Speech to
Fairfax.

His Pom-
pous
March.

The Move-
ments of
the Army.

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the English, as well as by the Scotch; every where betray'd, and always unfortunate. Let us unfold these Revolutions, as well as we can, amidst the Confusion, in which we find them related to us by the Historians, either thro' Party Prejudice, or else from the Difficulty that there is, to reconcile the Contradictions that are to be met with in the Conduct of all Parties; and Particularly in the King's and Cromwell's, on which these great Events do chiefly turn.

The King attaches himself to the Army.

The Queen and the Prince of Wales, send Deputies to the Army.

*Conversa-
tion be-
tween the
King and his Chil-
dren.*

The King was in the Hands of this Proud Army, which had just come from making their Pompos Entry into the City of London; but he receiv'd so great Civilities from them, that he rather chose to be amongst them, than in the Parliament's Custody. The Queen and the Prince of Wales, who were at the Court of France, havinglearnt the State of Things, deputed Sir — Berkley and Ashburnham to his Majesty, and to the Army, to assace the latter of their Acknowledgments, if they continued faithful to the King; and to Exhort him to make strict Engagements with the Army.

The King had so great Liberty allow'd him at Hampton-Court, where he was remov'd to, that he could at all Times see the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, his Children there, whom they brought thither from Sion House, a Seat of the Earl of Northumberland, to whose Care the Parliament had Entrusted the Children. All that the King said to them (for we know it from themselves) appear'd by the sequel to be inspir'd, and spoken with a Spirit of Prophecy. In his Conversation with them, he only Spoke to them of what they should do after his Death; He recommended to them all, to have a great Respect for their Elder Brother the Prince of Wales, and to Persevere in

the Protestant Religion, in which he had taken Care to have them Instructed. He had Particularly a fuller and more tender Conversation with the Duke of Gloucester, than with the others on that Head : Either on account of his Youth, (he being then but Seven Years Old¹) that moved him more ; or else that he was apprehensive, that he was more belov'd by the Parliament, than his Elder Brothers. The King foreseeing this (for it really was so) He Exhort'd him earnestly to refuse the Crown, in case they should offer it to him, in prejudice to his two Brothers. The little Prince made Answer, that he would remain equally unshaken in his Duty to God, and to his Brothers. He dy'd too young to have it said of him, that he Religiously kept his Promise : But nevertheless, he liv'd long enough to give the World Reason to believe, by his Wise Conduct, that he had certainly perform'd it, if he had been put to the Tryal.

Whilst these Things were transacting, the two Houses sent the King a new Project of Accommodation on the 28th of September, Compriz'd in Eighteen Articles, all of them tended to keep the Prince dependant on the Parliament, who were still to remain Masters of the Militia for Twenty Years, and all Things were to be issued under their Seal ; and in short, the Parliament was to be Arbiter of Rewards and Punishments, of Peace and War. In this Treaty, as in all others, it was stipulated, that Episcopacy and the new Liturgy should be Abolish'd ; the suspected Lords remov'd from Parliament, and Seven of the most Guilty punish'd ; but this like the others, prov'd Abortive.

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*His par-
ticular
discourse
with the
Duke of
Glouce-
ster.*

** He was
Born the
18th of
July, in
the Year
1640, and
dy'd soon
after the
Restora-
tion of
Charles
the Second*

*A Project
of Accom-
modation
propos'd
to the
King by
the Par-
liament.*

Never-

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1647.

Nevertheless, the Scotch Deputies join'd with those of the Parliament of England, to represent to his Majesty, that it was beyond Comparison more safe for him to treat with the States of the two Kingdoms, than with a furious Army, who would be no more faithful to him, than they were submissive.

The Embarras of
the King,
between
the Army
and Par-
liament.

This was not Berkley and Ashburnham's Opinion; On the contrary, they Represented to his Majesty, that He could not be safe in treating with the Parliament, whilst the Army were the Masters. It is very true, that it seem'd dangerous to bring the King to London, as the Deputies desir'd, unless it was with the Consent of the Army, who had the Power in their Hands: But it seems, as if his Majesty might have gone into Scotland for Refuge, and that this was the safest Method that he could have taken: There, amongst his own People, and in his own Kingdom, his Dignity could not have suffer'd: Besides, he would have been thereby secur'd from the English Army, who durst not have pursued him thither, or else they being abandois'd by the Parliament, must soon have disbanded of Course. The King's ill Fortune, prevented his thinking of this Expedient, till it was too late, or making an Overture of it, to the Scotch Deputies. Besides, how great soever an Inclination the Scotch might have to see him again amongst them, they durst not propose it to him, and the Shame of their having once betray'd him, closed their Mouths.

He chooses
rather to
Treat with
the Army.

Nothing then remain'd, but to make an Accommodation with the Army, or rather with Cromwell and Ireton, the Leaders of the Faction, that is, of the Independants, who seem'd to be the best affected to the King. A Treaty was concluded, and Import'd, That Cromwell was to

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with all
et us
all I see
miserie

be made Earl of Essex, and first Captain of the Horse Guards, and Ireton was to be made Lieutenant of Ireland. There were likewise other Employments stipulated for Cromwell's Family, for his Friends and Creatures. At least the Agitators said so, and on this Treaty, whether Real or Imaginary, they had like to have destroy'd this General, whom they Ador'd before. At the same Time, they Complain'd of the King, and design'd to have Seiz'd Berkley and Ashburnham, who had Negotiated the Treaty; but they made their Escape. They carry'd their Fury yet farther, and were resolv'd to Wrest the King out of the Hands of the two Traytors, that had taken him away from them: After this manner it was, that they spoke of Cromwell and Ireton, and of their Treaty with the King. But the King having notice of their Resolution, determin'd with himself, to make his Escape from the Army; and look out for a more certain Asylum, than was to be hop'd for, either from the Protection of Cromwell and Ireton, against whom he had some new Suspicions; or from the Parliament, who had no manner of Power left; or from a Seditious Army, divided by its own Faction, agitated by it's own Fury, and on whose Caprice he could not fix any dependance: Nevertheless, the greatest Part of the Officers, were well Affected. Cromwell, as it is said, could not forbear Weeping at an Enterview, between the King and his Children; and Fairfax was resolv'd, under the Pretence of a Review¹, to have made the Army take an Oath of Fidelity to the King. But the Agitators having notice of this Review, resolv'd on their Side to prevent this general Rendezvous, and to Seize on the King's Person before-hand.

Crom-
well's
double
manner of
Acting
with the
King.

¹Ludlow
says, that
the Pro-
ject of
this Re-
view was
laid by
Cromwell

It

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The King
flies to
the Isle of
Wight.

He makes
his Escape
from
Hampton
Court.

The Cha-
racter of
the Go-
vernor of
the Isle of
Wight.

It was then that the King, who had notice of the Conspiracy, determin'd to avoid it, and to fly for shelter to the *Isle of Wight* * ; where he believ'd he should be more secure, than in *London*. But he had no Proofs of the Governor's Affection and Fidelity, and it is difficult to say, why that Prince, who could when he was Embark'd, have gone as easily to *France*, where he had nothing to Fear, as to the Island where his Enemies had all the Power : Why he did not take the safest Expedient ? One can give no Reason for it, but that Inevitable Fatality which nothing can Escape.

He departed from *Hampton-Court* in the Night. This is a Royal House on the *Thames*, about Fifteen Miles from *London* ; and here it was, that the Army, after having remov'd him from Castle to Castle, at last left him. *Berkley* and *Ashburnham*, with Ten others Accompanied him, and on the 13th of November, they all went over to the *Isle of Wight*, Conducted thither by *Hammond*, the Governor himself, who the Day before, came to wait on the King at *Titchfield* in *Hampshire*, from whence he return'd with his Majesty into the Island.

Colonel Hammond was a Person that had always serv'd in the Parliament Army, and was moreover oblig'd to them for one of the best Governments in the Kingdom. To which we must add, That he had only given general Promises to *Berkley* and *Ashburnham*, who went first

to

* *My Lord Clarendon says, that the King had no Thoughts of going to the Isle of Wight ; but he cannot tell us, what was either his, or Ashburnham's Design; notwithstanding all the Pains that he took to Inform himself.*

to sound him, before the King Embark'd for the Island, and with whom he came to Salute the King at Titchfield ; So that there was no certainty in this Retirement, and there was more of Rashness, than of Wisdom in this Action of the King's, to put himself into the Hands of a Man, who Ow'd all that he was to the opposite Party ; and whom a Fugitive and Unfortunate Prince was not able to Indemnify, for the Sacrifice which he must have made to him of his Fortune, by exciting the Parliament's Resentment against him. This was what the King in a little Time Experienc'd.

The two Houses and the Army were equally alarm'd at the King's Flight, and not knowing which way he had taken, they sent Orders to all the Ports of the Kingdom, not to suffer any Ships to go out ; for they could not imagine, but that his Intention was to get out of England, and take Refuge in some Foreign Court. They were not long without being acquainted with his Retreat, and two Days after his Arrival in the Isle of Wight, they receiv'd Letters from the Governor, which Inform'd them fully of the whole Adventure. What Hammond wrote to them, remov'd all uneasiness, and they saw that they had nothing to fear from a Man that was entirely devoted to them. Therefore, relying on his Fidelity, they Contented themselves with sending him Letters of Thanks, and to Exhort him to continue his Care of keeping so Important a Prisoner ; and the Governor fully discharg'd his Trust.

Nevertheless, the King, three Days after his Arrival, wrote a great Letter to the two Houses, offering and demanding Peace, on Terms that were very Advantagious to them ; and by which his Majesty (being willing to Content them) stript himself of his greatest Rights. The

Anne

1647.



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*He de-
clares for
the Par-
liament.*

*The King's
Letter to
the Par-
liament.*

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1647.

*A Writ-
ing left
on the
Table at
Hampton
Court.*

The Writing which he left on the Table before his departure from Hampton-Court, was enough to convince any Person, that was not prejudic'd by Faction, of the Sincerity of his Majesty's Intentions to Peace. That (he said) was what he most earnestly wish'd for, and the Reason why he removed himself from a Place where he was under Restraint, only to another, where he might treat of it with greater Freedom. That he had nothing more at Heart, than the Felicity of his People, the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdoms, the Union of Scotland and England, and the Satisfaction of the Parliament and the Army it self, being less Jealous of the Title of King, than of Father of his Country.

His Offers.

His Letter to the two Houses, Confirm'd the Truth of his Protestations. Indeed, he did not agree to the Abolition of Episcopacy; but he Consented to Limit the Power. He Authoriz'd the Presbyterian Government for three Years; after which, it was to be Examin'd by an Assembly of Divines of both Parties, which of the two Governments ought to be preferr'd; and this was to be decided by the two Houses, jointly with the King. He was still more complying in Temporals, and about the Power of the Sword, which he seem'd to put into the Hands of his Subjects, or at least to divide it with them, Consenting that, during his Reign, all the Power of the Militia should remain in the Hands of the two Houses; to be Exercis'd by them, both by Sea and Land, provided always that the Patents were to be Issued in his Name. He likewise Consented, that they should have the Nomination of the Officers of the Crown, and Counsellors of State for the same Time, and on the same Conditions,

A French Writer (1) puts a Saying into my Lord Anno Clarendon's Mouth, as spoken when he was a Refugee at Paris, (2) for which, upon the strictest Examination of all that pass'd between the King and the Parliament, there is no manner of Ground: He makes that Lord to say: *That History* the Apprehension which the Lords had, that King and Lite² Charles would take away the Church Lands from them, which Harry the VIIIth had divided amongst their Fore-fathers, sow'd the first Seeds of the Civil Wars. But there is no manner of Appearance of this, and there is not the least Trace of it to be found in History.

There was room to hope for every thing, what pre-
from the Terms proposed by the King; the vented the
Parliament could not have wish'd for more ad-
vantageous Offers: Even the Army, at least the wisest Part of it, were consenting. The Agitators, who, till then, were so Powerful and Seditious, now listen'd to Equity and Reason, and came over to the Opinion of the Two Houses. Another Party, more furious, and more ill affected than the rest, call'd Levellers, started up, to spoil all, and the King's unlucky Star compleatly ruin'd the whole.

We must here give some account, what these Levellers were, who were the Movers of Levellers, one of the most fatal Scenes of this Reign, and occasion'd the Catastrophe. They were Originally, of the Corps of Agitators, from whom they withdrew themselves, to the Number of Nine Regiments of Horse, and Seven of Foot, in order to make a separate Corps, but still without abandoning the Body of the Army. They chose for their Head, one Lilburn, and presented to the General, a Writing equally Extravagant and Insolent, by which they pretended to change all the Constitution of Par-

Anno 1647. Parliament, and particularly that, relating to the Election of Members. They plac'd all Authority in the People, making them the Arbiters of Peace and War, of the Life and Fortune of private Persons, submitting all Magistrates to their Authority; and, in one Word, assigning to them, all that Superior Power, which the Romans pretended to have over their Senate, in Times of Trouble and Discord. They would have it likewise, that the Laws should be equally binding to all sorts of Persons, and that all should appear before one Court, without any Distinction of Birth, Quality, or Condition. And it was from this Equality, which was more likely to produce Confusion than Order, that they were called *Levellers.*

Their Sedition Proceedings. The general Review was on the 15th of November, at which time, these Mutineers, to distinguish themselves, appear'd every one with a Paper in his Hat, with these Words written on it, *The Rights of England, and the Consent of the People.* That is to say, that their Design was to abolish, not only the Monarchy, but likewise the House of Peers, and to set up a pure Democracy; this was what one of their Leaders, call'd Rainsbourg, assisted by Colonel Eyre and Major Scov, went about solliciting from Regiment to Regiment, animating the Soldiers against Fairfax, Cromwell, and the rest of the General Officers. They were punish'd by the Council of War, who caused one of the greatest Mutineers to be Hang'd, and Whip'd some others. The Parliament being inform'd of what had pass'd, wrote to Cromwell, to thank him for the Zeal he had shew'd for the good Cause, by punishing those Mutineers that disturb'd the Army, and whose Design it was

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to foment Divisions between him and the Parliament. So far Cromwell is not to be condemn'd; but he did not long remain so, whether it was that he had acted hitherto hypocritically, or sincerely; but afterwards, hurried away by his Ambition, or by a fatal Conjunction of Time, which determin'd him to abandon the King's ^{du^t al-} Party, and return to the Agitators and Inde- ^{ways dubi-} pendents. The Historians don't speak with ⁽¹⁾ Certainty on this Head; but however, I have follow'd one that is the least suspected by the Royal Party. (1)

Crom-

well's Com.

Party,

and return

to the Agitators

and Inde-

pendents.

The Historians don't speak with ⁽¹⁾ Certainty on this Head;

but however,

I have

follow'd one

that is the least suspected by the Royal Party. (1)

⁽¹⁾ Mente

Salmonet.

See like-

wise Lud-

mois.

the Army then lay Encamp'd, and that that

Officer discover'd to him there, Cromwell and

Ireton's Reconciliation with the Levellers.

He was that

likewise acquainted him with the Motives that determin'd

induc'd them to that Reconciliation;

the Mu

Cromwell

tineers, said he to Berkley, being more irritated to quit the

King, and

get himself

reconciled

to the Mu-

tineers.

What is

the Project in Execution, though they should pe-

rish in the Attempt.

He added, that the two

Generals were surpriz'd, and reflecting on what

might be the Consequences of such a desperate

Undertaking, they concluded, that it could

not prove fatal to the Army, but that it must

likewise prove fatal to themselves; that be-

sides, their uniting with the King did not

save them; that the most that they could pro-

pose to gain thereby was, the Glory of Perish-

ing with Him; and that it was better for them

to save themselves with the Army at the King's

Loss, and by reconciling themselves to the

Troops, regain their former Credit over

them.

Anno 1647. them. That this, at the same time, was the most feasible Means for them to rise quickly by, which their Destinies seem'd to point them out the Way too, according to this coterminous Historian, who is not at all partial to Cromwell: These were the Considerations that prevail'd on this famous General, to abandon the King. So that if he hitherto acted sincerely, in his Design to save Him, those who accuse him of having contriv'd it, from the Beginning of the Civil Wars, ascribe to him more refin'd, and more ambitious Vices than he really had.

*He de-
clares o-
penly.* But whether his past Actions were sincere or not, he now declar'd openly against the King, and fully reconcil'd himself to the Army, whose Confidence he entirely obtain'd, and regain'd the Ascendant over them. He even made so frank a Declaration (according to the same Author) to Colonel Cook, who was sent to him by Berkley, to know his final Resolution, that one can scarce regard him as a Traitor. *I dare not, says he, see the Person you come from, for fear that the Interview prove fatal to us both; but however, he may be assur'd, that I will serve the King as much as possibly I can, without destroying my self; but this is all that ought to be expected from me, and I am not determin'd to perish my self, to save him.* (1)

(1) See Menter and Ludlow. Berkley return'd to the King in the Isle of Wight, and gave Him a faithful Account of what he had seen and heard; to which he added, that he thought his Majesty ought not to hesitate a Moment about his departure from the Isle, to put his Person in some Place of Safety. But the King's Blindness was such, that He was determin'd to stay until some Treaty was concluded, either separately with the Scotch

*The King
deceives
himself.*

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Scotch Deputies, or else jointly with the Deputies of the Two Kingdoms. He did not succeed, and after some Days being spent in empty Conferences, He was desirous to make his Escape, but it was then too late. However, the Scotch Plenipotentiaries concluded a secret Treaty with Him, separately from the English, with whom they could not agree; but the King's ill Fortune render'd this Treaty likewise of none effect, as we shall see presently.

*Unjust Demands of
the Par-
liament.*

As to the English Parliament, the King's Enemies were so much the most prevailing Party therein, that nothing Equitable and Just was to be expected for Him from thence. This was what appear'd by the Four Propositions which the Two Houses sent Him on the 14th of December, which they demanded Him to subscribe, as Preliminary Articles of the Peace, which they would not hearken to, unless those Preliminaries were first adjusted. But nothing could be more unreasonable than these Articles, and the King could not agree to them without Degrading himself. The 1st was, That He should revoke all his Declarations, and justifie all their Proceedings against Him since the Rupture: This was to load Him with all the Odium of the Civil War, and to oblige Him to confess Himself the Author. The 2^d was, that He should Unlend all the Peers that He had created since the War, and that He should create none for the future without the Consent of Parliament: This was taking from Him, all Means of Recompensing those that had serv'd Him, and to wrest from Him, one of the greatest Privileges of the Crown, which receives its greatest Lustre, from the Benefits and Liberalities of the Prince. The 3^d was, that the Two Houses should have

Anno full Power to continue Sitting at London, or to
 1647. remove the Session to whatever Part of the
 Kingdom they pleased : This was to draw nearer the Army, to the End, that they might
 concert Measures, and make themselves, when
 together, more formidable. The 4th Proposition
 was the most Unjust of all; They would
 have it, that the King should give them up
 the Militia for ever; that they should raise
 them and command them without his inter-
 fering; and even without limitting the Num-
 ber; and that they should lay what Taxes they
 thought proper, to keep up those Troops.
 After this, what remain'd of the Royalty, but
 a meer Phantom ? and what did they leave of
 the King, but the empty Name?

*The King
rejects
them.*

Such Demands as these, could not be agreed to, and it is not at all surprising, if the King, after having debated thereon in Council, that
 is to say, with those that were with Him in
 the Isle of Wight, was of Opinion to reject
 them. But Care was to be taken at the same
 Time, not to be more streighten'd in his Li-
 berty than He had hitherto been, and to keep
 still a Door open to get out at, as soon as the
 Answer was given, least the Disputers being
 dissatisfied thereat, might redouble the Guards,
 and possess themselves of all the Avenues.
 This is what Berkley represented to Him, not
 at all doubting, that the Deputies had Orders
 to act after that manner, in case of the King's
 refusal to sign the Articles, which were sent
 ready drawn up. His Reasoning prov'd but
 too just, and the Precaution that the King made
 use of, to bind up the Deputies Hands, by deli-
 vering them his Answer seal'd up, believing
 that they durst not open it, but that they would
 carry it clos'd as it was to the Parliament,

*His Pre-
cautions
prove
fruitless.*

prov'd

prov'd of no Service to Him in The Two Houres. Anno. 1647. They had given them full Powers, and their positive Orders were, to bring back the Articles Sign'd, or to secure the King's Person. (1) Ludlow says, that (1) and not finding there, what the Two Houses desir'd; they concert'd with the Governour, who was at their Devotion, to put the Alter-native in Execution, and to seize all the Passages, so that the King could not make his Escape. Nevertheless, He attempted it, and He had open'd the Packet seal'd up, and oblig'd My Lord Clarendon to make his Escape, but is prevented. De Migne says the same.

no sooner deliver'd the Packet to the Deputies, but, struck with what Berkley had said to Him, He order'd him to use all possible Diligence to facilitate his Retreat. But it was then too late, for before that the King was ready to embark, the Deputies and the Governour had taken care to prevent his getting off the Island. His ill Fortune too, which always concurr'd with his Enemies, came in to their Assistance; and rais'd an Obstacle, which all the Diligence of his faithful Servants was not able to surmount. The Wind, which had hitherto been fair, on a sudden chapt about, and was so contrary, that the King durst not venture to Embark. This Misfortune gave the Governour time to double the Guards, to cause the Gates to be shut, and to drive out of the Isle, all the King's Domesticks, and all suspected Persons. Captain Burley attempted to save Him, and beat the Drum, to call about him all those that were willing to be Assistant in so generous an Undertaking; but He was taken, and sent to Winchester, where he was Quarter'd. Berkley had the good Fortune to get off, and return'd to France, to give an account to the Queen of his unfortunate Negotiation,

Anno 1647. tiation, which might have had better Success, if the King would have believ'd him, or if his Destiny had not been prevalent over all the Care that was taken for his Safety.

Conferences between the Scotch and English Deputies. We must likewise impute to that fatality, the ill Success of Conferences between the Deputies of England and Scotland, that happen'd in this Interval, or to speak more properly, the ill Success of the Scotch Remonstrance, by their Letter to the Two Houses at Westminster, dated the 17th of December : In it they complain of the Parliaments Rigour to the King, but to no purpose ; and it prov'd likewise to no purpose, that they demanded, that the King should be remov'd to London ; and that instead of Stroling from Place to Place, like a Prisoner of War, they should receive Him in their Capital, with all the Honours due to his Character, there to treat with the King in Person ; and that in order to make the Negotiation successful, that first all Diffidence on both sides should cease ; they concluded their Letter with Representing, that the Parliaments Rigour was contrary to the Covenant of the Two Kingdoms, who were as much obliged to maintain the King's Lawful Authority, as their own Liberties. The Two Houses made Answer, That having no other End in View than the Safety of the State, and of their Religion, they did nothing that was not conformable to the Laws, and to the Covenant of the Two Kingdoms, and to publick Weal ; and that if any thing seem'd extraordinary in their Proceeding, the Blame was to be laid on

The Scotch Deputies sollicit the King's Deliverance, but in vain. the King's own ill Conduct, which had expos'd them to such Danger, that it was impossible to save them, but by returning Severity to his perpetual Inconstancy, or rather Obstinacy,

nacy, which he had always persisted in, for Anno
Arbitrary Rule in State, and Episcopal Go- 1647.
vernment in the Church. Thus the Endeav-
ours of the Scotch, to save the King, vanish'd
in Smoke.

The Scotch Deputies finding that they could not prevail on the Two Houses, concluded a secret Treaty with the King; it was Sign'd at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, (a) on the 26th of December, and contain'd several Articles, all of them tended to a mutual Engagement between the King and the Scotch. The King oblig'd himself to confirm the Covenant, as soon as He was at Liberty. And they oblig'd themselves to procure Him that Liberty, either by their Sollicitations to the States of England, or else by force of Arms, if their Persuasions could not prevail. (b) The King, always unfortunate, could not make any Advantage of this Treaty, and it was certainly his unlucky Star that prevented it. In these Articles, he refus'd to explain himself precisely about the Abrogating of Episcopacy; and at the same time that He promised to Sign the Covenant, some Clauses were inserted by Him, which gave room to doubt of his Sincerity; at least, the Earl of Argyle took that occasion to render that Treaty suspected, and retarded the Execution of it for more than Four Months. So that when the Scotch Army put

The Earl of Argyle's being executed.

(a) My Lord Clarendon says, that the Scotch Deputies put it up in a Leaden Box, and buried it there, not daring to carry it with them to London.

(b) He says, that the Treaty, the Articles of which are related in his 5th Tome, was impracticable; and that if all England had been Prisoners with the King, the Scotch could not have exacted harder Terms for their Deliverance.

Anno 1647. put themselves in a Condition, to make good the Treaty, it was then too late, and only serv'd to augment the Triumph of the English Parliamentarians.

1648. We are now entring on the Year 1648, which was more fatal to the King than the Year before ; and in it we shall see, His ill Luck on one side, and Cromwell's good Fortune on the other, flowing with a surprising Rapidity, to the Degradation of the One, and to the Rise of the other.

An Act of Parliament to Disgrade the King. On the 3d of January, the Two Houses drew up an Act, which annell'd the Authority of the King, and translated all the Sovereignty to the Parliament : This was conceiv'd in three Articles ; By the First, the Two Houses declar'd, that they would address themselves no more to the King, nor hold any Correspondence with Him. By the Second, They forbud all Persons to have any Correspondence with the King. And by the Third, They declar'd all those Traytors, that should transgres that Order.

It is Reported, that this terrible Resolution, which sapp'd the very Foundations of Royalty, was not taken, till after the House of Commons had heard Ireton, who was the first that spake with Warmth, and afterwards Cromwell, who seconded him ; what they grounded their vehement Speeches on, was the King's refusing to Sign the Four Articles which I have mention'd, that were sent Him from the Two Houses to the Isle of Wight. From thence they inferr'd, that the King had sufficiently declar'd Himself for Arbitrary Government. That he was no longer the Protector, but the Tyrant of his People ; and consequent-

Reasons alledged for it.

ly, that they were no longer his Subjects, and that they ought to Govern without Him; that their long Patience had signified nothing; and that it was expected, from their Zeal to their Country, that they should take such Resolutions, as were worthy of an Assembly, to whom the Nation had confided their Safety.

Anno
1648.

As these Two Persons were not only Members of the House, but likewise Chiefs in the Army, Ireton being Commissary, and Cromwell Lieutenant General; after having first spoken, as Members of the House, they spake again as Members of the Army.

We are very well persuaded, said they, of the Cromwell Parliaments good Intentions, and that they, without Suffering themselves to be amused any longer, will defend the Nation by their own proper Authority, and by the Courage of those Valiant Men, that are enroll'd under their Banners, who, by our Mouths, give us assurances of their Fidelity, which nothing can shake. But have a Care, added they, that you do not give the Army, who sacrifice themselves for the Liberty of the Nation, any Grounds to suspect you of Betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own Safety, and that of the Nation, in their own Strength, which they desire to owe to nothing but to the Readiness and Vigour of your Resolutions. It is said, that Cromwell, at the Conclusion of these Words, laid his Hand on his Sword, as if by that Action he would have said, that from that Time forward, every thing was to be decided by Arms; and that the Laws were to have no more Force, than what the Generals would be pleased to allow them.

Without doubt, the House was sensible of the Boldness of these Speeches, or rather,

Anno 1648. ther Menaces, and besides, they knew the great Credit which the Persons, that spoke to them with so much Haughtiness, had amongst them; *The Parliament a-* Policy oblig'd them to manage the Troops, from whom they had really receiv'd considerable Services, and whose Service they thought *fraid of* *the Army.* might be necessary hereafter. Therefore it was Resolv'd, to give the Satisfaction that was desired, and it was that which made the three Articles that I have just mention'd to pass, not only in the House of Commons, but likewise (though with more Difficulty) in the Lords. It is even said, that the latter were forc'd to give their Approbation out of Fear of two Regiments of Horse and one of Foot, which the Commons had caused to come up to London, having, unknown to the Peers, made Engagements with the Army, in a manner, which soon afterwards prov'd fatal both to the Nobility and Monarchy. Thus it happen'd very often amongst the Romans, under their *Consuls* and *Emperors*, and there was scarce ever any Revolution brought about by the Way of Arms, which did not prove fatal to the *Patricians*, that is to say, to the most noble Blood of Rome.

But nevertheless, the dextrous and ambitious Cromwell, would not as yet let them perceive, what he was able to undertake, with an Army at his Devotion. He therefore got Fairfax to write to the House of Lords, to assure them of the Armies Submission, and that they would act nothing, but in concert with the Two Houses, and by their Orders.

Crom- Two Things still lay in Cromwell's Way, well's Ma- which gave him some Trouble, the City of nagement. London, and Scotland. He fear'd the Forces of the

the first, which were considerable by the multitude of its Inhabitants, and Riches of its Traders ; nor was he less apprehensive of the Discontent of *Scotland*, which could not observe the rigorous Treatment of the King, without Trouble. His Fortune or Dexterity remov'd these two Obstacles to his Ambition. He propos'd in the House of Commons, to unite the Interests of the Parliament, the City, and the Army, and to make them (as he said) Invincible, by making them inseparable ; the Proposal was plausible, and they did not discover at first, that his design of Joining them together was only, that they might steer one Course, like a single Ship, of which he was to be the Pilot, and carry wherever he pleas'd. However, there was no mention made of the Army in the Treaty, only that the two Regiments that had come into the City, should be withdrawn, and the Treaty only mention'd the Two Houses and the City ; but this Union was sufficient for *Cromwell* at present : For he thereby broke off the Union, which the City was upon the Point of Concluding with the *Scotch* Royalists ; and besides, the Power which the Army had in the House, now secur'd the City to them, and brought it entirely into their Dependance.

But he could not appease or deceive *Scotland* so easily : I have already said, that the *Scotch* Deputies left the *Isle of Wight*, after having Sign'd a Treaty with the King, on the 26th of December, which they brought away with them, and communicated to the States at their Return. The Estates met in the March following, and were divided about the Negotiation, which their Deputies had concluded. The Duke of *Hamilton*, who, from his Prison

*Divisions
in Scot-
land about
the King.*

Anno 1648. at Pendennis Castle, had come up to London, and from thence had gone into Scotland, was at the Head of those that were for sustaining the Treaty, and the Earl of Argyle at the Head of the contrary Party. The first spoke of the Indignities which the English had offer'd to their Prince, who was King of both Nations, but more particularly of the Scotch, being originally of that Country, and consequently, that they owing Him more Fidelity and Affection, were oblig'd to engage in the Resentment of his Injuries, and to take up Arms to reinstate Him in his Throne. The others insisted on the Right of Liberty and Religion, their famous Covenant with England, which they styl'd the Palladium of the Nations, to which they added, the Equivocations and elusive Terms, which the King had inserted in the Treaty, in order to evade, as He had done always, the Articles of the new Treaty, and Episcopacy, the Abrogating of which had cost them so much Pains and Blood. Thus the two Parties being fir'd one against the other, rekindled a War in Scotland, from whence the Royalists being the strongest, carry'd it into England. This was their Ruine, as we shall see hereafter; but let us first look into the reciprocal Enterprizes of the English Royalists and Parliamentarians, the first of which endeavour'd to Rebuild the Monarchy, but the other being more Fortunate, compleated its Destruction.

Commotions in England in his Favour. However closely the King was shut up in the Isle of Wight, He still held a Correspondence in England, and had Intelligence from thence. The Counties of Kent, Essex, and Wales, were the best affected to Him; and it was the latter that first set up the King's Stan-

Standard ; and the Soldiers there, wore a white and blue Ribbon in their Hats, which was the King's Colours. Some little Time after, the Duke of York made his Escape from St. James's, Disguis'd like a young Woman, and taking Boat on the Thames, he was carry'd down to Tilbury, where a Ship waited for him, and there put on Board, from whence he was Landed at Middlebourg, and from thence proceeded to the Hague, to the Princess of Orange his Sister.

Anno
1648.

*The Duke
of York
makes his
Escape to
Holland.*

In the mean Time, Pembroke in Wales, and Chepstow, declar'd for the King. And the Duke of Buckingham joining with the Earl of Puerborough, made an Insurrection in Surry and Essex, but Fairfax soon dissipat'd those Commotions, the Royalist Troops were beaten, the Countries return'd, either willingly, or by force, to the Parliaments Obedience; and Cromwell had a greater Share in the Glory of these Successes than Fairfax, as I shall relate in few Words.

The War began, as I have said, in Wales, *Success of* Colonel Fleming being sent by General Fairfax, to take Possession of Pembroke for the *the Royalists*.

Parliament, came before the Town in the beginning of March. Poyer, who Commanded there, refus'd to give it up, and declar'd openly for the King, he did more, and not only kept the Place, but went out of it with a Body of Troops, attack'd Fleming, and cut both him and the Troops to pieces; but the Royalists did not long rejoice for this Advantage; and Colonel Horton, who could not succour Fleming, being too far off when the Action happen'd, reveng'd his Death some time after.

This

Anno 1648. This was on the 8th of May, *Langhorn*, at the Head of Eight Thousand *Welch*, took the Field, with a Design to surround *Horton*, who had only Three Thousand Men with him, but all old Soldiers, better Arm'd, and better Disciplin'd than the *Welsh*, who nevertheless, were not at all inferior in Courage. *Horton* was therefore oblig'd to entrench himself betwixt two Mountains, where he was charg'd by Colonel *Butler*, at the Head of nine Hundred Horse, who began the Battle before it was possible for the Foot to come up to join him and engage. This precipitation occasion'd his Defeat, the *Welch* Horse could not stand against the Force of the *English*, and the Foot not having time enough allow'd them to come up, to sustain the Horse, were forc'd to give way, and put to the Rout; the Foot only came up time enough to be Witnesses of the Disorder of the Horse, (but could not repair it,) and to add to the Victors Glory, the Parliamentarians remained Masters of the Field of Battle, with all the Enemies Ammunition, and took more than a Thousand Prisoners. The Parliament, who look'd on this Victory as the lucky Forerunner of a fortunate Campaign, caus'd a Thanksgiving to be observ'd in all the Churches in *London*, and throughout all the Counties in the Kingdom.

The Siege of Pem-
broke by Cromwell. But this was but an Action of small Importance, compar'd with those which were done by *Cromwell* in Person. On the 11th of May, he arriv'd at *Chepstow*, in *Monmouthshire*, which was formerly a Part of the antient Kingdom of *Mercia*; and the Town having refus'd to open their Gates to him, he forc'd them, and made himself Master of the Place; but he was oblig'd to lay Siege to the Castle in Form;

this

this he left to the Care of Colonel *Ewer*, with Anno seven Companies of Foot, two Troops of Horse, and some Pieces of Canon. The Breach being made on the 25th, Colonel *Ewer* attack'd, and carry'd the Castle Sword in Hand ; Sir — *Kennish*, who Commanded there, was kill'd, and all the Garrison made Prisoners. The Taking of *Chepstow*, was follow'd by that of *Tenby*, and the Victorious Army march'd to reinforce that which had laid Siege to *Pembroke*, under the Command of General *Cromwell*.

Poyer, as I have said, was Governour, and he had already signaliz'd himself by *Fleming's* Defeat ; to whom he had refus'd to resign the Government, which the Parliament and General *Fairfax* had given him a Commission for. *Cromwell* came to revenge *Fleming's* Injury, or rather, the Parliament's and Army's ; but he found so vigorous a Resistance, that he could not make himself Master of the Town and Castle before the 11th of July. He then *He sends* notify'd the Taking of it to the Parliament, *the Parliament an* and sent them the Governour, and the principal Officers, who, by their Capitulation, surrendered to the Parliament's Discretion ; at the same time that he sent them this Account, he *Account of* acquainted them with his Design of turning *the Reduction of the* his victorious Arms *Norward*, as soon as he had entirely restor'd the Tranquillity of the *Place.* East, and Southern Counties, without being at all deterr'd by a March of *Three Hundred Miles*. He added, that the Soldiers shew'd the same Resolution, but that they were in want of every thing, except Resolution and Courage. This was, to excite the Two Houses, to pay and reward the Services of those brave

X . Men,

Anno Men, that, he said, fought for their Country; 1648. and the Parliament made Provision accordingly.

Before his Match, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Holland*, were Defeated. Sir —— *Levesey* came up with them, on the 6th of July, between *Kingston* and *Nonsuch*, and his Horse Skirmish'd with theirs. Some few Days after, he was join'd by Colonel *Scoop*, and both pursuing the Enemy very close, they oblig'd them to engage on St. *Nede's* Plain. The Royalists were totally Defeated, and their Chiefs, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, fled from the Field, and the Earl of *Holland* was taken.

(1) See *Ludlow's Memoirs*, who says it was which he wore about his Body as a kind of *Mrs. Kirk*. Tallisman.

(2) Rague net. Cromwell's Romance Historian (2) gives him the Honour of this Battle, which he makes much more considerable than it was: For he says, that all the Royalists Forces were there on the one side, and all the Parliamentarian on the other. He adds, that *Cromwell* distinguish'd himself there, by prodigious Acts of Valour, being often surrounded, but always reliev'd by his Regiment of *the Red Brethren*, of which he was the Leader; that he had five Horses kill'd under him; that he kill'd three General Officers with his own Hand; and, in short, that the whole Glory of the Day was due to him; that the King's Army lost three Thousand Men, and that it cost the Parliament's only five Hundred. But this is all Romance, the Action was only a little Fight, rather than a Battle, in which *Cromwell* was not at all Engag'd (3).

Cromwell's Valour.

(3) See *Ludlow and my Lord Clarendon*.

Whilst

Whilst the King was a Prisoner in the Isle of Wight, the Earls of Holland and Peterborough, with the Duke of Buckingham, and several other Lords, enter'd into an Association for his Deliverance; the Earl of Holland had for some time before been return'd into the King's Service; this Year he went over to France, to concert Measures with the Queen and the Prince of Wales, for the King's Deliverance. The Queen repos'd the whole Weight of this Affair on my Lord Germain, who, tho' he was well affected, wanted Capacity and Application, and did not take Care to execute the Articles agreed on. So that, thro' his Fault, as the English Historian says (1); The Earl of Holland, and the other Confederate Lords, did not receive the Succours which were promis'd them, and it was this that occasion'd the Defeat I have mention'd, and all the fatal Consequences that attended it. Other Insurrections for the King, in Kent, and Cornwall, were not Successful; and if his Generals got some little Advantages, where the Towns that held out for Him shew'd Resolution, those Advantages were not of long continuance.

Anno
1648.

(1) My Lord
Clarendon

*An Insur-
rection in
Kent for
the King.*

Almost all the Nobility and Gentry of Kent leagu'd together, to demand the King's Deliverance, and drew up a Petition, on the 11th of May, to the Two Houses, who having notice of it before hand, refused to receive it, and declar'd it Seditious. At the same time they took up Arms on all Sides: on the 23d of May, the Confederate Royalists had a new Assembly at Canterbury; where it was Resolv'd on, that they would March with their Petition in one Hand, and their Sword drawn in the other. They had two Colonels at their Head, Hammond, who had rais'd a Regiment

Anno of Foot, and *Hatton*, one of Horse, for the Service of the King, and the County. *Hardress* and *Aucher* put themselves likewise at the Head of two Troops of Dragoons, the first ^{Exploits of the Confederated Royalists.} Two marching toward *Dover*, and the other Two towards *Sandwich*. The latter made themselves Masters of the Town, the Mayor opening the Gates to them; and from thence, they carry'd away all the Money and Provisions they could possibly exact.

An Impostor that calls himself Prince of Wales. There they found an Impostor, that pretended to be the Prince of *Wales*, who was arriv'd there some few Days before; the People suffer'd themselves to be so far bewitch'd by this Impostor, that Sir — *Deshington*, who was just come into *England* from the Prince, was not able to disabuse the Inhabitants; and what is yet more, the Mayor put *Deshington* in Prison, in Obedience to the Orders of this false Prince of *Wales*. The Confederates, who were throughly persuaded of the Imposture, would not suffer it to last longer, but sent Sixty Soldiers to the House where this Cheat had shut himself up, who broke open the Doors, and took him away with them. He was first carry'd to *Canterbury*, and some time after sent to *London*, and put into *Newgate*. And it was at last found out, that this pretended Prince was a poor Wretch, called, *Cornelius Evans*, the Son of a Welch Man, but one that liv'd a long time at *London*, where he was known. He made his Escape out of Prison, and we are not told what became of him after, having play'd so great a Part well enough in the Beginning, but concluded scurvily, as I have related.

Almost

Almost such as this, were the two famous Impostors in *Henry the Seventh Reign*, which this new Cheat brought fresh into Mens Memories, and gave occasion to the Repeating of what was said on the Account of the Two first Impostors, that *England* was the Country of Adventures and Enchantments, as well as of Revolutions.

Anno
1648.

The Royalist Party encreased Daily; and after having left three Thousand Men at *Sandwich*, and *Canterbury*, which had declar'd for them, they arriv'd on the 26th of *May*, with Seven Thousand more at *Rochester*. The Earl of *Norwich* (1) was made General, but his good Intentions, without Experience (2) could not get the better of the King's ill Fortune, nor the *Militia* that he Commanded, cope with the Disciplin'd Troops of the Parliament. The first Shock that they met with, was at *Maidstone*, and the Earl of *Norwich* being desirous to lead them to *London*, where he believ'd he should meet with Partners, and having Encamp'd them at *Greenwich*, where he expected News from *Surry*, from *Essex*, and *Southwark*; but he was deceiv'd in all his Expectations, not a Man stirr'd in his Favour; but, on the contrary, he receiv'd Advice, that the Parliament had declar'd him a Traytor, and the City of *London* had applauded the Proclamation. At the same time, a panick Fear spread amongst the Troops, who cross'd the *Thames* in several Parts, and thinking to go into *Essex*, they mistook their Way, and went into *Middlesex*; and before they knew where they were, they were got into the Suburbs of *London*; their good Fortune, or else their Courage, extricated them out of this false Step; and having again got into *Essex*, they

Anno 1648. join'd their General there. The Affairs seem'd to have a different Face, the Nobility and Gentry of the Country declaring for the King, ^{They Rely} came to join the Army at *Norwich*, which cross'd the Country, and seiz'd on *Colchester* on *Colchester*, the 10th of June, only with design of Resting there for Refreshment for some few Days; but the Enemy being at their Heels, attack'd them about a Mile from the Town, and were very near entring it Pell mell, along with them; but they were prevented, and the Gates were shut against them; but they Blockaded ^{ans besiege} the Town, and some few Days after form'd *Colchester* the Siege. But before we look into the Success of this Siege, which did not prove to the Royalists Advantage, we must return to the War of *Scotland*, which was not more Successful, the Miscarriage of which occasion'd the Loss of *Colchester*, and of all the King's Party in *England*.

^{The March of the Scotch Royalist Army.} *Scotland*, as I have said, was divided into two Parties, but that which declar'd for the King's Deliverance, with Duke *Hamilton* at its Head, was the Strongest, but was not the most Successful; nevertheless, *Hamilton* enter'd *England* about the beginning of July, and the important Towns of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, which are the Keys of the Kingdom on the *North side*, Declar'd for Him; Opened their Gates, and receiv'd what *Scotch* Garrisons he pleas'd to put in there. This was done, pursuant to the secret Treaty concluded with the King, by Virtue of which, (the English Historian says, (1) these two Places were to be deliver'd into the Hands of the *Scotch*.

(1) Clarendon.

I have already said, that the Duke came from London, when he went into Scotland; but I have not related what it was that he did there; however great the Marquis of Argyle's Opposition was to the King's Party, yet the Duke had Eloquence enough to carry the Point against him in the Assembly at Edinburgh, and get it Resolv'd on there, that they should Arm in the King's Favour, and pursuant to the Treaty concluded with him in the Isle of Wight. He was likewise dextrous enough to get himself named General, in spight of his Competitor; and putting himself at the Head of the Army, he began fortunately, in the manner that I have related.

He continued his March, and enter'd Lancashire on the 15th of August: Bayly, who Commanded the Foot, Encamp'd at Preston, but the Horse March'd farther, and lay at Chester. This Separation was what destroy'd them. They likewise committed another very great Oversight, Monroe was arriv'd from Ireland with Five Thousand Men, and Langdale was in Westmoreland, with Three Thousand. These two Corps design'd to join Hamilton, and if he had been reinforced by them, his superiority might then, without Presumption, have flatter'd him with hopes of Victory. But every thing seem'd to oppose their joining, Negligence, or Sloth, on Hamilton's side, Diligence and Success on the Enemies; and to compleat all, Cromwell's Fortune interferred, and he came in Person to cross the Designs of the Scotch Royalists, and his Appearance was enough to destroy them.

The two Houses being alarm'd at the Scotch Invasion, and the Revolt of Berwick and Carlisle, cast their Eye on Cromwell, as on their

Cromwell Marches against him.

Anno Deliverer, having already (according to some 1648. Authors,) Honour'd him with the glorious Title of, *Protector of their Religion and Liberty.* They appointed him General of the Army against the Scotch, and let him know, that they expected every thing from a Man, who was us'd to Conquer, and whose Zeal was not inferior to his Valour. He, on his side, accepted of the Commission, and with all the Joy and Confidence of an ambitious Man, that depended on his own Courage and Fortune, and believed, or pretended to believe, that he fought for the *good Cause*, and that the God of Battles would fight on his side. After this manner, or pretty near it, he express'd himself on the Occasion; and it was always to this first Cause, that he was us'd to attribute the Success of his Arms.

Thus Spake, thus Fought, and thus Triumph'd the cunning and successful *Cromwell* of Preston. He entered the Northern Counties with design, either to keep or reduce them to the Parliament's Obedience; and upon Advice of the Scotch Invasion, he detach'd Major General *Lambert*, to keep them at Bay; but with express Orders, not to risk any thing, until the main Body of the Army join'd him. What pass'd between *Lambert* and the Enemy, is variously reported. Some will have it, that he alone Defeated the Enemy at *Preston*, and that only the Scotch Foot were engaged there, the Horse (as I have said,) being in *Cheshire*. Those that relate this add, that the Horse made their Treaty in spight of their Generals; and thus all *Hamilton's* Army were dispers'd. Others say, that both the Armies entire were Engag'd, the Strength of which are variously related; but that all the Chiefs were in the Bat-

Battle; that it begun on the 15th of August, at Anno Preston, and that it was renewed several times for two Days after. All however agree, that Monroe, with the Irish, was not in the Action, and that the Victory was entirely on the Parliamentarians side, who took Four Thousand Prisoners, and General Bayly amongst them, <sup>The Victory
on the Par-
liament's
side,</sup> besides Two Thousand that were kill'd in Passing Warrington Bridge, where the Battle was fought. But whether this was the Second, as some will have it, or the third, as others alledge, I shan't determine, but all agree, in attributing all the Honour to Cromwell. This is one of his boldest and most fortunate Ex-^{(1) Ludlow.} ploits, if what his cotemporary Historian (1) says <sup>See likewise
my Lord
De-Clarendon.</sup> is true, that with Seven Thousand Men, he defeated 25000.

It was on the 22nd of August, that the Horse having mutined, deliver'd up their Leaders to Cromwell, who put Duke Hamilton (2) into the Lord Gray's Custody, and sent the Parliament an Account of this short and fortunate Expedition, <sup>The Account
which
Cromwell
sends the
Parlia-
ment.</sup> in which (he said) the Finger of God was perceivable, to whom he exhorted the two Houses to ascribe all the Glory. <sup>(2) He was
sent after-
wards to
Windsor,
and from
the ce to
the Tower.</sup>

The same News was likewise sent to Fairfax's Camp, who then besieged Colchester, and it occasion'd no less Joy there than at London. Fairfax made his Advantage of it, and to intimidate the Besieged, he caus'd a kind of Paper Kite, with several Billets ty'd to it, to be thrown into the Town, in which, the whole Account of the Victory gain'd over the Royalists, that I have mention'd, was related at large. <sup>Fairfax's
Invention
to let the
B-sieg'd in
Colchester
know of
the Victory.</sup> Colchester had declar'd for that Party, by opening the Gates to the Earl of Norwich, in the beginning of June, and from that time Fairfax had Blockaded the Town, but did not besiege

Anno 1648. siege it till about the middle of July. I shall not relate all the Particulars of the Siege, but shall only take notice, that *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Lucas*, who had thrown themselves into the Town with what Troops they had, made a greater Resistance than could reasonably be expected from a Town that was hardly Wall'd, and had no Outworks, except one Half-Moon, which they call'd the Old Fort. Neither was it better provid'd with Ammunition and Provision, wanting Canon, Bullets, Powder, and having Provision only for thirty Days, at the end of which, they were oblig'd to feed on Horse-Flesh, and at last, were reduc'd to eat Dogs and Cats. The News of the *Scarth* being Defeated, quite dispirited the Besieg'd, and the Soldiers forc'd their Leaders to accept of the Capitulation, which was Sign'd the 27th of August; the Terms could not be more disadvantageous than they were; for thereby the Destiny of the Chiefs, and other Officers, were abandon'd to the General's Mercy, who had it in his Power to dispose of them as he thought fit. He, or the Council of War, made a cruel Use of that Power, having Condemn'd *Lucas* and *Lisle* to be shot, which was executed the next Day; the Earl of *Norwich*, and my Lord *Capel*,⁽¹⁾ were sent Prisoners to *Windsor*. Indeed the other Officers were treated like Prisoners of War, but having surrendered at Discretion, the Soldiers were strip'd and turn'd out of the Town, which was Ransom'd from Pillage, by paying the Sum of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds.

A Fleet Commanded by the Prince of Wales, appear'd off the Coasts of England with a Fleet,

but the Father's Fortune was still the same, Anno
tho' in the Son's Hand ; and this Enterprise 1648.
did not succeed. There was, however, room ~~to~~
to hope for Success ; in May, the Squadron of
Ships riding in the Downs, declar'd for the
King, and the Earl of Warwick could not
bring them back to his Party. This was a ve-
ry powerful Assistance to the Prince of Wales,
who, leaving Paris about the beginning of July,
Embark'd at Calais, and from thence went to
Holland, where he found the Ships from the
Downs ready to receive him there, and to act
under his Orders. He immediately Embark'd
on the Admiral, and appear'd off England, as I
have said, about the latter End of the Month,
and came to an Anchor in Tarmouth (1) Road. (1)^{In Nor-}
He brought with him several Printed Copies ^{folk.}
of a Manifesto, which he caus'd to be spread
abroad wherever his Boats Landed ; by which
he declar'd, he had only taken up Arms to de-
liver the King, his Father, to the End, that
He being at Liberty, might jointly with his
Parliament, settle the Differences in Church
and State, and restore the publick Peace and
Safety : But his Manifesto, and taking up
Arms, were both equally slighted.

*His Mani-
festo.*

*Slighted by
the Parlia-
mentarians*

Tarmouth refused to open her Gates to him,
and he was forc'd to set Sail from thence, and
came to Anchor in the Downs. This was a-
bout the Time that Fairfax took Colchester ; the
Taking of this Place, and the News that the
Prince receiv'd, that Tarmouth had submitted to
the Parliament's General, made him resolve to
depart from the Downs, and go in Quest of
Admiral Warwick, who was but six Leagues ^{Goer in}
from the Mouth of the Thames. The Prince ^{Quest of}
hoped that he should prove more fortunate by ^{Admiral}
Sea, than his Father's Arms were at Land ; but ^{to fight}
he him.

Anno 1648. he was mistaken, and as if every thing conspir'd against these unfortunate Princes, the Heavens sided with their Enemies, and a Storm prevented the Prince of *Wales* from Engaging the Earl of *Warwick*.

On the 30th of *August*, the two Fleets were in Sight of each other, and preparing to engage at the Mouth of the *Thames*. The Night before, the Prince sent a Letter by one of his Gentlemen, (1) to the Parliament's Admiral, Commanding him to strike the Flag to his, which was the King's ; to whose Obedience he advis'd him to return, assuring him not only of Pardon, but of the Continuance of his Post. The Admiral's Answer was, that as he held his Post from the Parliament, he wanted no Confirmation of it ; and that, as for Pardon, he stood in need of none for what he had done, in Executing the Orders of the Two Houses, to whom he was resolved to be faithful, and that he would not strike his Flag any where. After such a haughty Answer as this, they prepar'd to Engage.

*The Two
Fleets pre-
pare to
Engage.*

*The Wind
prevents
them.*

And the next Day in the Morning, the two Fleets began to dispute for the Wind ; but before either could gain it from the other, it grew so stormy, that it was impossible for them to Engage. It continued the whole Day with the same Violence, and oblig'd the Prince to steer for *Holland*, whilst *Warwick* went to the *Downs*. There he receiv'd Letters of Thanks from the Two Houses, and at the same Time, Orders for the Payment of the Soldiers and Sailors, and to augment the Fleet with Men and Ships.

(2) *My Lord* *Clarendon* A Historian (2) says, that the Misunderstanding on Board the Royal Fleet, between Prince *Rupert* and my Lord *Culpeper*, contributed very much to the Miscarriage of this Expedition.

In the mean time, every thing in the North submitted to Cromwell's Fortune, or Valour. After having sent the Account of the Duke of Hamilton's Defeat to the Parliament, he march'd into Scotland, and Argyle's Party being then superior, took Possession of Edinburgh Castle, and seiz'd on the whole Government, Berwick and Carlisle still held out for the King, but Cromwell coming to Alnewich, (1) sent to summon the Governour to surrender the Place. But before it was surrender'd, he receiv'd a Letter from the Scotch Parliamentarians, dated the 15th of September, that assur'd him, that they, on their sides, would use their utmost Endeavours to reduce that important Place, and likewise Carlisle ; of both which, the opposite Faction had made themselves Masters, very much against the Scotch Parliament. The same Letter contain'd Protestations of their holding stedfast to the Parliament of England, to maintain the Covenant of the joins them. Two Nations, being persuaded, (said they) that the English General's Victorious Army would not abandon them. This flatter'd Cromwell very agreeably, and this serv'd as a fresh Spur to his Courage, and Ambition. Having receiv'd this Letter, he thought it best to enter Scotland, to strengthen the Confederate Party there, and that Berwick and Carlisle must fall of Course, when he had cut off their Communication with the Scotch Royalists. This was a bold Design, but it was laid by a great General, and the Event prov'd successful.

On the 20th of September, he pass'd the Tweed, and enter'd Scotland, not as a Conqueror, but as a Deliverer, (as he alledg'd) that came to restore the Nation's Tranquillity, by resto-

Anno
1648.

The success

of the

Scotch

Parliament

arians.

(1) In Nor-

thumber-

land.

His Maji-

sty.

Anno 1648. restoring the Lawful Authority of the King and Parliament. In the *Manifesto* which he Publish'd, he assur'd them, that he would withdraw with his Troops, as soon as he had set the Nation free ; and the Soldiers were forbid, on Pain of Death, to Plunder, or exact any thing from the Inhabitants. Such moderate Proceedings gain'd him the Affection of the People, and he was scarce got into Scotland, when the Marquis of Argyle in Person, with two other Deputies, came to confer with him. It was Resolv'd on between them, that the Marquis of Argyle, in the Name of the States of Scotland, should send Orders to the Governour of Berwick, to surrender the Place to General Cromwell, which was accordingly done, before the End of the Month. Carlisle

*The Reduction of
Berwick and Car-
lisle.*

Cromwell did the same, and Cromwell had no more to do, than to come and speak, to regain the Keys of the Kingdom, for England, and to make all Scotland return to the Parliament Party. This was preceeded by a Treaty of the 26th of September, by which it was stipulated, that the two Towns should be evacuated on the 1st of October, that the Prisoners on both Sides should be released, and the Leaders not be any wise accountable for what was past. The Earls of Larinck (1) and Glencarne refus'd to Sign these Articles, and retired to Holland.

(1) Duke Hamilton's Brother, whom he succeeded.

Compli-
mented by
the Nobili-
ty and E-
states at
Eden-
burgh.

Whilst the Royalists either fled before, or truckled to the Conqueror; he came to Edinburgh, there to receive the Complements of his Triumphs, and to enjoy all the Glory of his Success in Scotland, as well as in England. The Baron of Kilcombry, and Major General Holburn, were Deputed from the States, to go and meet him at Seton, nine Miles from Edinburgh, where

where they conducted him. He was Lodg'd in the Earl of Murray's fine House, which was fitted up on purpose for his Reception, and he was Complimented there by the Greatest Lords of Scotland, and the Principal Members of the States, who all came to know, what it was that he desir'd from the Nation, being ready to grant him every thing. His Demands were *His Moderate ration.* moderate enough for a Man, to whom it had been difficult to have refus'd any Thing : All that he exacted from them was, that all Persons that had follow'd Hamilton's Party, or were affected to it, should be excluded from Session in the States, and from all Publick Employments. They not only agreed to this Article, but to give greater Proofs of their Affection to the English, they added, that no suspected Persons should be admitted into any Employment in the Magistracy and Government, but by the Consent of the Parliament of England. This Visit, or these Conferences, were followed by a magnificent Feast, and Cromwell, at his Departure, was saluted by all the Cannon of the Castle. Before he left Scotland, he granted the Covenanters, who desir'd it, that Major General Lambert should continue there, with two Regiments of Horse ; as for himself, he departed from Edinburgh, accompanied with a numerous Train of the First Peers of the Kingdom, who did not quit him till they had gone some Leagues from the Capital, from whence he proceeded directly to Berwick.

He did not continue long at Berwick, and not bearing it, that Pomfret and Scarborough Castles should dare to hold out against him, after Berwick, Carlisle, and all Scotland, had submitted; *He takes Pomfret and Scarborough Castles.*

A.D.
1648.

*He leaves
Lambert
in Scotland*

*Honours
paid him*

Anno mitted ; he went to reinforce the Siege, and
1648. oblige them to submit likewise.

The Honours paid him by the English Parliament.

(1) Some will have it, that he did not return till the 7th of December.

His Modesty.

After having thus pacified or reduc'd the North, he returned Triumphant to London, (1) where his Fame had reach'd before him, the States of Scotland having magnify'd his Exploits, and prais'd him for the exact Discipline observ'd by his Troops, by whom no Person was a Sufferer. The Parliament of England, who thought themselves oblig'd to him for these Services, of which they gather'd the Fruit, could not refuse to join their Praises, and never General was receiv'd with greater Applause. Fairfax, indeed, had his Share in the Compliment, as he had likewise in the Success ; but it was very easie to observe, that the Preference was given to Cromwell. He, on his side, receiv'd all this Applause with extraordinary Modesty, desiring that all the Glory should be ascrib'd to God. His Moderation had been no less admirable than his Valour, if his Ambition had not soon afterwards appear'd, which had been always under the specious Pretence of Religion and Liberty.

The Parliament's Negotiation with the King.

Whilst Cromwell, at the Head of the Army, was driving on to his main End, by seeming to act only conformable to the Parliament's Orders ; the Parliament were seriously enclin'd to Peace, and treated accordingly with the King. The Conferences were open'd about the beginning of August. At first there was some Difficulty about the Place, where they were to be held. The King would gladly have had them at London, and that he might be permitted to come there in Person. The City desir'd it, and offer'd the Parliament to bear the Expence, for their common Safety. But the Parliament would not trust the King there,

there, and therefore resolved that the Treaty should be negotiated in the Isle of Wight. Anno 1648.
 All the Alteration that was used, to shew ~~that~~
 that nothing was forc'd, was, that instead of treating in Carisbrooke Castle, where the King was a Prisoner, the Place was left to his Choice, provided always that he made Choice of some Place in the Isle, and he fixt on New-port.

Treaty begun, first with these Articles being agreed to : 1. That the Act, which prohibited the addressing the King, should be revoked and null. 2. That it should be allowed him to have such Persons about him as he thought necessary. 3. That the Articles presented at Hampton-Court in 1647, should be the Foundation of the present Treaty ; and that the King might, if he pleased, include Scotland. 4. That Five Lords and Ten of the Members of the House of Commons, should be deputed to treat with his Majesty ; and that a Committee should be appointed to prepare all things for the Dispatch and happy Conclusion of this great Work. The Five deputed Lords were, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Middlesex, and Salisbury, and the Lord Viscount Say. And the Commons deputed Ten Knights, Vane, Hare-bottle, Grimston, Pots, Hollis, Wainman, Peir-point, Brown, Crew, Glyn, and Bulkley. The King, on his Side, to assist him, named the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton, Lords of the Bed-Chamber, and with them came over several of the King's Domesticks, who brought some of the King's Horses for his Diversion and Exercise.

Anno 1648. On the Sixth of September, the King left Carisbrook Castle, and came to the Place of Conferences, which were not opened till the Eighteenth, by reason of some Difficulties started about Passports. On the Saturday before, the King ordered a Fast to be observed in his Family, to implore the Blessing of the Almighty; and he himself compos'd the Prayer which was uttered by the Almoner on that Day of Humiliation, which was set apart to appease the Anger of Heaven, and to beg of the God of Peace, that he would grant a Peace, which was so earnestly desired, and was so necessary to the whole Kingdom.

The Parliament's Demands. The Day of Conference being come, the Conferences were opened, with the Terms proposed by the Parliament. They demanded, 1. That the King should revoke all the Declarations that he had publish'd against the Two Houses of Parliament. 2. That the King should consent, that the Militia should be put entirely into their Hands. 3. That the Court of Wards should be suppress'd. 4. That he should not pardon the Thirty Seven Persons prescrib'd by Parliament. 5. That he should revoke the Commissions that lie given in Ireland to raise Troops there. 6. That the Presbyterian Government should be established, and Episcopacy suppress'd. The King agreed to the first Article, without any Restriction. To the Second, for Twenty Years. To the Third, with a Proviso of an Equivalent. To the Fourth, by reducing the Number from Thirty Seven to Seven, and these to be prosecuted according to Law. He subscrib'd to the Fifth, and the Sixth being the critical Point, which had render'd all for-

The King's Answer thereunto.

former Treaties fruitless, he gave way so far to it, as to consent, That Archbishops should be abolished, and that the Bishops that remain provisionally, should not exercise Authority, Jurisdiction, or Ordination, but with the Advice and Assistance of the Ministers of the Diocese. That the Presbyterian Government should be establish'd for Three Years, at the End of which, an Assembly of Divines should be call'd, in which his Majesty, and the Two Houses, should preside, and there a definitive Resolution should be taken about Church-Government.

*The King's
Demands.*

As to the King's Demands, they were reduced to Three Articles: 1. That he might go to *London*, to reside there with Honour and Safety. 2. That he should be put in Possession of his Domaine and Revenues. 3. That a general Amnesty should be publish'd throughout the whole Kingdom, on a Plan to be concert'd between him and the Two Houses. On which the Deputies promis'd to make their Reports, they not being vested with full Powers. Thus ended this Negotiation in Forty Days, being the Term fix'd by the Parliament: And the King, at parting from the Deputies, exhorted them to labour seriously to perfect a Work, which was so happily begun, the Conclusion of which depended on the Parliament's Approbation. The Deputies promis'd that they would, and acquitted themselves of that Promise like honest Men. There was even Grounds to hope, that every thing would now have been accommodated, when the Army, drawing nigh to *London*, came, and disturb'd all, and put all to Confusion.

*How the
Conf.*

ences end-

ed.

Anno 1648. The Army had their Party in the House, *Ireton* encourag'd them strenuously not to listen to any Accommodation with his Majesty, whose Answers, he alledg'd, were all liable to Exception. But notwithstanding all that he could say, the Accommodation was carried by a Majority, after Four Days Debate; and it was voted on the 5th of December, that the Two Houses were satisfied with what the King had been pleased to agree to, and that, on that Foundation, they would labour to restore the Peace of the Nation.

This Resolution, the Honour of which is imputed to *Prynn*, was so much the bolder, as that the Army was then actually in and about London, and that they had, on the 26th of November, sent their Threats, rather than Remonstrances, to the Two Houses. In them they alledg'd, that it was to no Purpose to pretend to treat with the King; that it might easily be perceiv'd, by the new *Chicanes* which he rais'd, that he only aim'd at gaining of Time; that those deceitful Negotiations ought to be broken off, the Prohibition of addressing the King restored, and no Power acknowledg'd but that of the Parliament; that, above all, they should take Care not to suffer him to come to London; and lastly, that they should in earnest call him to an Account for the Wars, Extorsions, and the Blood which he had caused to be spill'd; that to that End, they should erect a sovereign Court, before which he should be obliged to appear; that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York should be likewise cited; and in case that they refused to appear, that then they should be declared Traytors, and incapable of succeeding to the Crown. There was no

men-

The Army oppose the Negotiations.

They will have the King brought to his Trial.

mention made of the Duke of Gloucester, either out of Regard to his Youth, or to his Zeal for the pure Religion.

The Army carry'd their Insolence farther, and from Words proceed to Action ; the Fears which they were in, that the Parliament design'd to remove the King to London, put them on an Attempt, which was not less criminal than that of the *Roman Legions*, when they seis'd on *Galba* and *Piso*, whom they depriv'd of their Lives and the Empire, to give it to *Otho*. On the Tenth of December, Colonel Cobbet came with Orders from the General of the Army to the Governour of the Isle of Wight, to deliver the King into his Hands ; and the same Night there arrived a Troop of Horse and a Company of Foot, the Commandant of which brought Second Orders like the first. The Governour would not, or durst not refuse them, and deliver'd up the King to these *Satellites*, who obliged him to depart with them from the Isle the next Day, being the 11th of December New Stile, and brought him to *Hurst Castle*, scituated on a Point of Land advanced in the Sea, near *Southampton* ; where the Air is so bad, that they are obliged to change the Garrison every Three Months.

This unhappy Prince, (now became the *King* of the *Two Houses*) at his Departure, left his Protest in Writing, against these last Violences, and all the foregoing ones that he had suffered ; taking God to witness of his Innocence, and of the Sincerity of his Intentions for Peace : Exhorting all his faithful Subjects to compassionate his Sufferings, and to detest his Persecutors, who, at the same Time that

*They carry
off the
King from
the Isle of
Wight.*

*Bring him
to Hurst
Castle.*

*Protests a-
gainst this
Violence.*

Anno 1648. they were so, were the Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity; that as to himself, he was resign'd to the Will of the Almighty, who, for Reasons unknown to all but Providence, sometimes suffers Innocence to be oppressed, but never lets the Oppressor's Crime go unpunish'd.

*His Letter
to the
Prince of
Wales.* He likewise left a Letter for the Prince of Wales, which was extreamly moving; and therein his Courage and Piety, under so weighty a Disgrace, shined out conspicuous. The Letter was contained in Six Leaves of Paper, and might be properly styl'd a Discourse by way of Apology for his Conduct, and an Explaining of all the Violences and Indignities that he had suffer'd from his Enemies. He concluded his Letter with these Words, which one cannot read without being mov'd: *You see, my Son, that we have a long Time laboured in Search of Peace. Do not you be discouraged to tread these Ways, in all the worthy Means, to restore your self to your Right; but prefer the Way of Peace; shew the Greatness of your Mind rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than punishing — If God give you Success, use it humbly, and far from Revenge — You are the Son of our Love, and as we direct you to what we have recommended, so we assure you that we do not more affectionately pray for you, than we do that the ancient Glory and Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion and Fanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects, to whom we are a Politick Father, may have such sober Thoughts as to seek their Peace in the orthodox Profession of the Christian Religion, as it was establish'd since the Reformation in this Kingdom.*

This

This Stroke of Authority, or rather Tyranny, which the Army had just put in Execution, surprised the Two Houses, who plainly foresaw the fatal Consequences of it; but however, they did not lose their Courage, and the Commons, some Days after, had Vigour enough to order (notwithstanding the Credit that the furious Army had at that Time) that they would compleat what they had begun with the King in the Isle of Wight, reinstate him in the Throne, and give Peace to the whole Nation.

Anno
1648.

*The Parlia-
ment or-
der the
Treaty of
Peace to be
pursued.*

But what could Laws do against Arms? The Army Five or Six Days after this, the Parliament was surrounded with Soldiers, and Four Regiments coming to Westminster, drove away the Militia that kept guard there, seized on the Palace-Gates, drew up the Soldiers in a Hay on the Steps, and in the great Hall, and were determined to sacrifice to their Hatred such of the Members as had displeased them. The Colonels, *Pride, Harrison, and Sir Hardress Waller*, having a List of Forty One, caused them all to be seiz'd; and the Serjeant of Arms coming two several Times from the House to demand them, he was sent back with Disdain, without being suffered to come near them. The Members were carried to Prison, and pass'd the Night on the Benches or Floor; the next Day they were brought to Whitehall, where the Council of War was held; the General not designing to speak a Word to them, ordered them to be lodg'd in two Inns, where they were sent on Foot through the Dirt in the midst of an Escort of Musketeers, who took Pleasure in exposing them to the Insults of the Mob. They did not obtain their Liberty, but on Condition

Anno 1648. tion that they should return into their several Counties, and not appear in London in Ten Years.

They exclude One Hundred and Sixty more.

The Army's Insolence did not stop there: The Officers that guarded the Place, would not suffer One Hundred and Sixty of the Members of the House of Commons to go into the House, on Pretence that they were not well enough affected to the good Cause. This was what this furious Faction pretended to, who, making themselves Masters of the King and Parliament, undertook to destroy those two Powers, and to set up their own. They had the King Prisoner already in Hurst Castle, and scarce any Members were left in the two Houses, not above Three or Four Lords in the House of Peers, and about Forty or Fifty Members in the House of Commons.

The Remainder continue Sitting.

An Image of that defective Assembly.

These however continued sitting, and on the 7th of December, (which was the Day after this Violence was committed) Cromwell came to the Parliament, as I have said already, and there received Compliments and Thanks for all the great Actions he had done, so much to the Advantage and Glory of the two Kingdoms. Thus it was that the Parliament of England spake at that time, if the Name of Parliament can be allow'd to so defective an Assembly, composed only of Cromwell's Flatterers, or timorous Persons, who were less thoughtful for the Liberties of the Nation, than how to precipitate themselves with their Country into Slavery. Almost such as this was the Senate of Rome, when Tiberius came to the Empire, a small Remainder of true Romans were for maintaining the Authority of that August Body; but the rest

pre-

preferring their Ease to their Glory, almost Anno
all ran headlong into Servitude.

Thus fell this long and famous Parliament, which had made so great a Noise against arbitrary Power, and which, after becoming Masters of the King, became Slaves to the Army. It is true, that the prescrib'd Members, or those that had retired voluntarily, caused a *Manifesto* to be printed, by which they protested against all that should be done or ordered by so small a Number of Members, whom the Army's Tyranny kept sitting at Westminster ; but the Members at Westminster, on their Side, publish'd another *Manifesto*, declaring those that had separated from them, seditious, and for ever incapable of enjoying any Office or Trust in the Kingdom.

In the mean time, the Army's Boldness increased daily ; and on the 9th of December, they presented a Petition to the Council of War, demanding, That the great and capital Enemy of their Country should be brought to Justice, and that Dispatch might be used to bring him to his Trial. What is more surprizing is, that this Remains of the Parliament (to whom the English, with Justice, gave the Name of the (1) Rump, which shewed the despicable Thoughts they had of them) favoured this Insolence of the Army, by revoking, on the 13th of December, the Preliminaries of the Treaty of Peace, negociated between the King and the Deputies of the two Houses, and gave Orders to the General to secure the King's Person. This was putting him into the Power of that Army, who demanded his Head, and plaining of the Way to set up that detestible Tribunal, which had the Boldness

*The Army's
Insolence in
demanding
the King
to be
brought to
Justice.*

*(1) The
Rump.
The Rump,
or false
Parlia-
ment, back
their De-
mand.*

Anno
1648.
 ~~~~~  
*The differ-  
ent Con-  
duct of  
Fairfax  
and Crom-  
well.*

nels to order it to be cut off by the Hands of the Executioner ; the Army made the first Overture towards it, by their Petition to the Council of War ; and the unworthy Assembly at Westminster, gave their Concurrence, by authorizing the General's Power over his Majesty's Person. We shall see presently, that *Fairfax* refused to be one of his King's Parricides, but that *Cromwell* was not so scrupulous. But nevertheless, he at first shew'd some Repugnance to so black an Undertaking, at least he seem'd to shew his Abhorrence of it, and not to surmount it, as he said himself ; but only because he saw that the Providence of God and the Necessity of the Times had inspir'd the Army to make so terrible a Sacrifice ; but that that Sacrifice, after all, was the only one that could save the State and Religion. Hitherto Mens Thoughts went no farther than the lessening of the King's Authority, and to give him a Bridle, which might restrain him from attempting any thing against the Laws. Hitherto they respected his Person, or if they fail'd in that, they had not as yet laid any Design against his Life, and the boldest of his Enemies durst not have done it but with trembling. The Soldiers, that is to say, the most vile and seditious Part of the Soldiery throughout the Kingdom, must plain the Way for him. Thus the Dye once cast, he breaks over all Difficulties, and hotly pursued the Execution of so black and bold a Design, without giving the Nation Time to recover from the Consternation they were in, or to the King's Friends to make any new Attempts to save him.

The General being authorized by the Assembly at Westminster, caused it to be ordered by the Council of War, that the King should be brought from Hurst Castle, to answer such Charges as should be made against him, at the Tribunal to be erected for his Trial. And he sent as many Regiments as were necessary for the Removal of the Prisoner-King. On the 20th of December, he arrived at Winchester, where Colonel Harrison came to meet him with a Body of two Thousand Horse, and from thence he conducted him to Windsor Castle.

The King was very near making of his Escape on the Road, and before that, was twice like very near doing the same when he was in the Isle of Wight. I shall say something of the first Attempt, before I mention the latter.

His Keeper, one Osborn, being mov'd with his Sufferings, undertook to save him: The Iron-Bar of the Window was already filed through, and the King had already his Head out of the Window, when he heard a Noise, that obliged him to go again to Bed. It was Hammond, the Commandant, who, having Notice of the Plot, ran to see what it was; he said nothing to the King, whom he found in Bed, but the Bar being cut, was Proof sufficient of the intended Flight; and this Argus thereupon doubling his Vigilance, left the King no Hopes of making his Escape from him.

Every thing ran contrary to this unfortunate Prince, the Project of escaping on the Road, between Hurst and Windsor, was not worse concerted, and, like the first, was just on the Point of being put in Execution, when it vanished. He was to dine at Bagshot, at

my

Anno  
1648.

The King  
brought  
from Hurst  
to Windsor

Anno 1648. my Lord Newbourg's House, and from thence to take a Horse of extraordinary Swiftness, on which he might have fled off, but on his Arrival he found the Horse lame. Another Horse was offered him, but not so sure a one as the first, and therefore he durst not trust to him. What a Fatality was this? Will not any one be apt to say, That Fortune took a Pleasure in giving false Hopes to this unhappy Prince, and concerted with his Enemies to make him her and their Sport.

*He is brought to London.*

The King then continued his Journey, and came to Windsor, where he remained till the 19th of January, and then he was brought from thence to his Palace at St. James's, London; not as a King, but a Criminal; and dragg'd as such, unworthily, before the odious Tribunal, that had the Boldness to condemn him.

*Fairfax and Lord Pembroke refuse to be of the Number of the King's Judges.* But before things came to that Point, there were some Contests about it. The Compassion for the sad Destiny of the King moved some, the Horror of the Crime affrighted Number of others, and the Insolence of the Army pleased almost all. Scarce any of the Lords would be concerned in the Judgment, and but a very small Number of the Commons. Fairfax refused to be one of the Judges; and the Commission being brought to him and to the Earl of Pembroke at the same Time, they both excus'd themselves, and Fairfax chose rather to lose the Fruits of all his Victories, than to buy them at the Expence of Parricide.

*An Ordinance passed in the Commons, to try the King.* But that did not prevent those of the Commons, that sided with the Army, to pass an Ordinance on the 28th of December, to bring the King to Trial. On the 2d of January it was

was brought to the Lords, who were then Sitting, to the Number of Sixteen, and was unanimously rejected by them, being animated therunto by the Speeches of the Earls of Northumberland and Manchester, who represented the Invalidity and Injustice of such a Proceeding. This was the last Act of the House of Lords, and the last Voice of Liberty of Parliament, which expir'd immediately after. The Lords seeing that there was no Safety for them, having retir'd, and the Commons, tho' very few in Number, having seiz'd on all the Authority.

Anno  
1648.

~~~~~

*The Lords
reject it,
and withdraw
from the Parlia-
ment.*

They began with drawing up an Act, which Establish'd their Power. They founded it on this, that all Power was, as they said, originally in the People; and therefore the Commons of England, who represented the People, had the supreme Authority over the Nation; and from thence they inferr'd, that the Concurrence of the Lords was not necessary. This being done, (and after that they had agreed with Cromwell, who was now Generalissimo, since Fairfax had withdrawn himself, and had an absolute Power over the Soldiers,) they Erected a Tribunal, which was to Try and Judge all the Authors of the Troubles and Divisions of the Kingdom, and at the Head of whom, they were not afraid to Name the King. This Tribunal was compos'd of Four-score Judges or Commissioners, according to some Authors, and according to others, the Number is reduc'd to Seventy. Part of which were taken from the Army, and at the Head of these, were Cromwell and Ireton. The other Commissioners were either Members of the House of Commons, that were then sitting at Westminster, or else nominated by them,

*A Tribunal
Erected for
the King's
Tryal.*

and

Anno and amongst them, were the Lords Gray and
1648-9. Lisle (1), who were the only Lords that would
have any share in that Tragedy.

(1) The
Earl of
Leicester's
Son.

(2) A Re-
giment cal-
led so.

The Com-
missioners
of the High
Court of
Justice, and
the Marks
of Sov-
ereignty.

The King
is brought
to St.
James's.

It was preceeded by a Day of Fasting and Prayer ; and this was always Cromwell's Method, to make Devotion, as it were, march before his great Designs, either from a false Zeal, and to impose on the People, or else to please his (2) Red Brethren, all Independants, who did not pique themselves less on Religion, than Courage. Afterwards the Commissioners, on the 17th of January, Assembled in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, to debate there on the Marks of Sovereignty to be carry'd before them, and if the Mace should be join'd to the Sword. It pass'd in the affirmative, for this Reason, that the Sword alone would have something in it too terrible, and too Martial. And, lastly, Proclamation was made in all the publick Places of London, for the Opening the Tribunal, in Words like these : That on the 20th of January, the Sovereign Court of Justice would be Open'd in the great Hall at Westminster, where all Persons, who had any Complaint to make against CHARLES STEWART, late King of England, should be heard.

The King was brought from Windsor to London, the Night before this odious Convocation, and lodg'd at his Palace in St. James's, that He might the more readily be brought every Day to Westminster, there to appear before that unworthy Tribunal, which Condemn'd Him to die. We shall see that terrible Catastrophe, when we run over the Affairs of Foreign Countries, that have happen'd from the Year 1640, where I broke off the Narrative, to the present Year, 1648-9.

I shall say nothing of *Scotland*, whose ~~Connex-~~^{Anno} 1648-9.
enant with England, made their Events and Interests inseparable; and therefore I have been oblig'd to relate the Intrigues and Wars of the one, at the same time that I related the Intrigues and Wars of the other.

I proceed then to the Commotions and Troubles of *Ireland*; but as I have already related the terrible Massacre of 1641, and that the Affairs of this Kingdom, have almost as much Connexion with those of *England*, as those of *Scotland* have, and are not less mixt, I have scarce any thing particular to relate.

Scotland and *Ireland* look'd on the King's Misfortunes, and *Cromwell's Success*, with the same Grief and Indignation. But they could not prevent the Fall of the former, and they were forc'd to bow under the invincible Valour of the latter. As *Scotland* did not stir, till after the Death of King *Charles the First*; it is not here a proper Place, to mention the Insurrections of that Kingdom, in Favour of *Charles the Second*. But *Ireland* having made some Efforts to support the Father's tottering Throne, which I have not inserted in the History of *England*; I now proceed to give a short Relation of them.

Ireland was still divided into two Parties, *Papists* and *Protestants*; it is a Miracle how the latter, weaken'd as they were, by the Massacre of Two Hundred Thousand Persons, almost abandon'd by *England*, divided amongst themselves, reduc'd to *Dublin*, and some one or two Places more, could hold out near Ten Years against the Fury, and infinitely superior Forces of the *Papists*. For it was not till after the King's Death, and *Cromwell's Elevation*, that the latter suppress't the Rebels and Murderers, and

R. Coke
The perfect
Politician.
Menter,

From and crush'd them with a surprising Rapidity. 1640, Before this Revolution, they were in a Condition to give Laws to the English that were in 1648-9. the Country, and it is astonishing, that they could not free themselves. The generous Resolution of the English Parliament had, without doubt, a great Share in this great Event; but the Irish, by their own Divisions, contributed very much thereunto, as I have already related.

Papists that join the Lord Lieutenant. One Party of them, under the Name of Confederates, united, as I have said, with the Marquiss of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, with design to suspend the Animosity of the two Nations, and of the two Religions, and

Others that will acknowledge no Head but the Pope's Nuncio. go to assist the King. The other Party being more Zealous for their Popery, would have no Correspondence with the Protestants; and looking on those that were in League with the Marquiss of Ormond, as Deserters from the Church of Rome, they refus'd to acknowledge any other Head than the Pope's Nuncio. The latter Party became the most Powerful, not by their own Strength, but by the Infidelity of the other Party, who abandon'd the Marquiss of Ormond, and oblig'd him to deliver up Dublin to Colonel Jones, whom the Parliament of England had sent over into that Kingdom.

Jones makes the Authority of Parliament to be acknowledged in Ireland. This Deserion oblig'd him to retire into France, to the Prince of Wales, where he remain'd, until he was recall'd by the Confederates, who repented afterwards that they had withdrawn themselves from his Command.

Jones was not satisfied with making the Parliament's Authority respected in Dublin; but, assisted by Colonel Coote, and Colonel Monk, he made himself formidable to the Irish Papists: These then discovered the wrong

Step

Step they had taken, in quitting the Marquis From
of Ormond, (who was capable to defend them,) 1640,
to attach themselves to the Pope's Nuncio, to
who apply'd himself to nothing but to pillage t648-9.
them ; and then, not only the Party, which
had formerly follow'd the Marquis's Banners,
but likewise the other that were attach'd to the
Nuncio, united both into one Party, and resolv'd
to have no more than one Head, the Mar-
quis of Ormond. Therefore they unanimously The two Par-
sent a Deputation to the Queen, and the Prince pise Par-
of Wales, then at the Court of France, to beg ises unite under
of them, that the Marquis might be recall'd, the Lord
notwithstanding the Nuncio's Opposition, who
threaten'd to Excommunicate them ; but they
slighted his Excommunication, and oblig'd
him to depart the Kingdom.

This was about the Time that the King was
in the Isle of Wight, waiting the Period of his
Misfortunes. The Marquis of Ormond endeav-
our'd to re-animate the dispirited Patty, and
very little was wanting, to the Reduction of all
Ireland; from whence he might easily pass with
a numerous Army into England, to the King's
Assistance; Being assisted by Colonel Inchiquin,
who beat the Parliament's Troops, and made
himself Master of Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim,
and some other Places. He, on his side, un-
dertook the Siege of Dublin: The Parliamentarians
had no more than this Town, and Londonderry
left, and besides, their Troops were daily weaken'd by Desertion; the Marquis of
Ormond sollicited Jones to surrender the Capital,
offering him very advantageous Terms,
and at the same time threatening him, in Case
of his Refusal, to give him no Quarter. The
faithful and valiant Governour, was equally
Proof against his Offers and Threats; and his
Exploits of
the Lord
Lieutenant
Jones
holds out in
Dublin.

From Courage supplying the small Number of Troops,
 1640, he gave Time to the Succours, that were pre-
 paring to come from England, to relieve and
 re-conquer all Ireland; but as this was not
 till after the King's Death, and under the Aus-
 spices of Cromwell, the Relation of that Event
 would not be here in its proper Order. I
 therefore proceed to the Sequel of what pass'd,
 in other Kingdoms, during the Period of these
 Nine Years.

History of the three Emperors by Ricaut. Nani Seri la Guillotiere, Olearius, Pietro Delavalle. We left Sultan Ibrahim on the Ottoman Throne, which he ascended in the Year 1639, (a) at Twenty Five Years of Age. A Prince, whom History represents to have been another Caligula, or Heliogabulus, Cruel and Voluptuous, Covetous and Prodigal, Stupid and Furious, and, in short, a Monster, made up of all sorts of Vice, without Wit, Courage, or Virtue, fitter to destroy, than raise an Empire. There are, nevertheless, Historians, who say, that He was born with good Nature and Virtue, but that He was corrupted by his Courtiers. Of so great Importance is it, for a Prince to be careful in his Choice of Ministers and Favourites. However, it was under this Emperor, that the Famous Siege of Candia was form'd, which cost the Venetians and Turks so much Blood.

The Reign of Sultan Ibrahim. Azoph Taken. The first Years of his Reign, were remarkable for the Taking of Azoph, situated in the Palus Maeotides (c), in an Island near the Mouth of the Don, the Grand Vizir Mustapha form'd

(a) See the History of the Three Emperors by Ricaut who says, that it was in 1640. See likewise La Guillotiere.

(b) See the History of the Turks by Sansovin.

(c) The Zabache Sea.

the Siege, (d) and took it from the Czar, who had a Garrison of *Cossacks* in it, or, to speak more properly, took it from the *Cossacks* themselves, who took it from the Turks in the Year 1637 (e). His Triumph cost him his Life, and the cruel and jealous Ibrahim, caus'd him to be strangled at his return from this Expedition to *Constantinople*. The Taking of this Place, was follow'd by an Invasion on the Kingdom of *Naples*, with Forty six Galleys, Turkish Commanded by the Captain *Bacha*. All Italy Galleys A-
was alarm'd, but their Fears were soon qui-
eted, contrary Winds prevented his Forming the Siege of *Otrantum*, and being driven from *Valona*, into the Gulph of *Tarentum*, the Turks contented themselves with plundering *Rocca Imperial*, and carrying off Two Hundred Slaves.

The Galleys of *Malta* reveng'd Italy for the *The Galleys* Insults of the Ottoman Fleet, but the *Venetians* of Malta paid dear for it. On the 28th of September, 1644, take the Constanti-
the Squadron which the Order send nople Caravan every Year against the Turks, sailing near *Rouan*.
Rhodes, met with the *Caravan* from *Constantino-*
ple to *Cairo*, consisting of three *Sultana's*, and a great Number of *Saicks* and small Vessels ; *Boisbaudrand*, who Commanded the Squadron, attack'd the Caravan, boarded, and took one of the great Ships, attack'd another of sixty Guns and five Hundred Men, and as he was going to grapple, he receiv'd a Shot that kill'd him. The Chevalier *Neuchases* took the

Z 2 Com-

(d) In the Year 1642.

(e) This Place, according to *Riccati*, belong'd to the *Cossacks*, he says, that it was Taken in 1642, by the *Bacha* of *Egypt*, and says nothing of the Death of the Grand Vizir, which he places in 1644, and says, that the *Sultana Kiossem*, caus'd him to be strangled.

From 1640, to 1649. Command on him; and being more Fortunate than his Predecessor, forc'd the Gallion to strike, after having Two Hundred Men kill'd on Board, and as many Wounded. The Fleet, which these great Ships Escorted, became the Prey of the Conquerors, and the Prize was valued to more than Two Millions. To which, some Historians add, that one of the Sultan's Mistresses, with hi Son *Osmin*, a Child of four Years Old, were found amongst the Prisoners; but others will not believe that they were Captives of so great Importance. The Author of the *Mirror of the Ottoman Empire* assures us, that the Mother was a *Syracusan Slave*. That Beautiful Captive, who would never declare who she was, Dy'd soon after, and her young Son being Educated in the Christian Religion, became a *Dominican Fryar*, and was known by the Name of Father *Ottoman*, tho' perhaps his Birth was not so Illustrious.

The Victorious Galleys return'd to *Malta* with these Riches, after having Anchor'd in some Ports of old *Samos*, now call'd, *Cephalonia*, belonging to the *Venetians*, which prov'd a Misfortune to that Republick.

The Turks enrag'd at this Loss, pretended that the *Venetians* were answerable, because they had receiv'd the *Malta* Galleys in their Harbours. All that their Resident could say in their Defence, signified nothing, and perhaps, even the *Divan* would not have respect-ed, in his Person, the Character of a Publick Minister, and the Right of Nations, if the Grand Vizir had not rather dissembled, than stifted his Resentment. From that Time, he projected the Invasion of the Isle of *Candia*; but being willing to lull the *Venetians* into a Secu-
rity,

They lay a Design on Candia, to be reveng'd

rity, he feign'd to be contented with the Satisfaction that they had given. The Feint lasted, till every thing being ready to put their great Design in Execution ; the Turkish Fleet, consisting of Seventy eight Ships, appear'd off the Height of *Candia*, on the 24th of June 1646, and came with full Sail, firing of Guns, and sounding of Trumpets, to Land in the most convenient Parts of the Island. The Descent was made near *Canea*, and some few Days after, the *Turks* resolv'd to besiege it. The Town made a vigorous Defence, and sustain'd several Assaults ; but was at last forc'd to Capitulate on the 19th day of *August*, after a Siege of Fifty seven Days from the Opening of the Trenches. The *Turks* did not bound their Conquest here, nothing less than the whole Island could satisfie them ; and having Blockaded up the Capital in 1647, they began the Siege the next Year. It was scarce begun, when Sultan *Ibrahim* was strangled, (1) and his Son *Mahomet* the IVth, set on the Throne ; the Death of the Father, and the Minority of the Son, made no alteration in the Fate of *Candia*, but however, several Years were spent, before the *Turks* became Masters of it. And nothing less than the Fortune, Capacity, and Courage of the Famous *Achmet Caprogly*, could have accomplish'd it (2).

I said, that the *Sophi* of *Persia*, *Schach Abas* the II^d, succeeded *Schach Sefi*, in the Year 1642. He had not the Capacity of *Schach Abas* his Grandfather, neither did he Reign with so much Glory, and his Reign is less remarkable for his Victories, than for his Cruelties, which I don't think proper to croud this Abridgment of Foreign Countries with, and therefore I proceed to the Western Empire.

From 1640,

1649.

*Their Descent on the Island,**To Canea**(1) In August, 1648.**Lay Siege to Candia.**(2) In the Year 1669.**Olearius Fl. Delavalle.**The Reign of Schachi Abas the II^d.*

From 1640, The Empire was still disturbed by the Arms of Sweden and France, and by her intestine Divisions; Ferdinand the Third, succeeded to the Imperial Dignity in the Year 1649.

Nani Pufendorf,
&c.
The Reign
of Ferdi-
nand the
3d.

so that the Period of Nine Years are within his Reign. He was crowned King of Hungary in 1625, and of Bohemia 1627, and made his Name illustrious by the gaining of the Battle of Norlingen from the Swedes in the Year 1634. In the Year 1637, he became Emperor, and was less renowned for his Courage than for his Constancy, under the ill Success of his Arms, the Care of which he left to his Generals. The Enemy's Generals were more fortunate, and Sweden had none but great Captains at the Head of her Troops, which were almost always victorious. We

Exploits of
the Swe-
dish Gen-
erals.

(1) He dy'd
at Halber-
stadt, the
30th of
May, ac-
cording to
some, or the
30th, ac-
cording to
others,
1641.

Thus the Death of the great *Gustavus* did not change the Fortune of Sweden, and that Crown did not receive less Lustre from the Fortune, Valour, and Conquests of its Generals, under the young Queen *Christina*, than from the Victories of the great *Gustavus* her Father. Ferdinand the 2d did not escape being the Subject of Triumph to *Gustavus*, but by a kind of Miracle; and Ferdinand the 2d. could not save himself from *Christina's* Captains, but by the Peace of Westphalia. He saw his famous Generals John de Waert, and (2) De Lambay, Prisoners (2); and the Captivity of the latter, which happened in the Year 1642, followed by a Torrent of Success gained on his

Eoc.

Enemies Side by Torstenson ; Silesia invaded in May, and Moravia in July, the Archduke and Piccolomini beaten on the 23d of October in Misnia, and Leipzig opening her Gates to the Conquerors. Coningsmark entered the Dutchy of Bremen in 1644, and Torstenson put General Gallas to flight, who pretended to shut him up in Holsaw, and forc'd him to retire to Magdebourg in Confusion. Prince Charles Gustavus Palatin, to whom Queen Christina resign'd the Crown afterwards, signaliz'd his Valour in those Battles, where, not being Twenty Years old, he serv'd his Apprenti-ship under the famous Torstenson, and after-wards surpassed that great Master.

The Year 1645 proved still more fatal to the Emperor, the Battle fought on the 6th of May in Bohemia, in which the fortunate Torstenson defeated the Imperialists, and took their Generals Mansfeilt and Merci, with Four Thousand Officers and Soldiers Prisoners, left all Bohemia open to the victorious Arms of the Swedes.

In the Year 1646, Torstenson resign'd his Generalship to Wrangell, who was not less fortunate than he, and was powerfully seconded by Count Coningsmark ; Wrangell enter'd into Bohemia in 1647, and took Egra, and Coningsmark ravaged the States of Bremen and Munster. The Bavarians were sometimes in Alliance with the Swedes, and sometimes with the Imperialists ; the Swedes, to punish them for their Inconstancy, took their Rout through their Country in 1648, and defeated the Imperial Army, commanded by Melander, who opposed the Swedes Invasion, for's Gen- and lost his Life with the Battle. The over- ral Melan- flow- der defeat- ed.

From flowing of the River Eus, (1) saved Austria, 1640, where the victorious Army were just on the to Point of entring. Coningsmark, on his Side, 1649. entred Bohemia, and came before Prague, and divided into the new and old Town. According to some Authors, he could not take the old Town, but he made himself Master of the new one, and got so considerable a Booty, that it was valued at no les than Twelve Millions.

The Treaty of Westphalia, of which I shall speak presently, put an End to these Wars; and Queen Christina's Abdication the next Year, left all Europe divided betwixt Admiration and Censure of this great Event. But I think my self obliged, in this Place, to take Notice of the Match proposed by the Elector of Brandenbourg with this young Queen, whom the King her Father had designed for her Husband, when she was a Child. Ten Years after, the Elector endeavoured to conclude an Alliance, which was very agreeable to the Interest of both the States; but the Senate and the Clergy of Sweden made this Negotiation abortive.

I have said nothing of the Victories that France, joined with the Swedes, gain'd over the Imperialists; because I reserve that to the sequel of the Narrative of the French Affairs; but the Share which the Hessians had in the Wars against Ferdinand, must not be forgotten.

In the Year 1630, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel entered into the League with Sweden and France, against the House of Austria. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt took the other Side; and thus two Branches of the same Family

Family became divided. Both of them paid dearly for the War, both their Countries being ravaged; the one by the *Imperialists*, and the other by the *Swedes* and the *French*. From 1640, to 1649.

The *Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel* died (a) on the 20th of September 1637, but his Death did not break the League, and it still subsisted under the Regency of his Widow (b), of whom History speaks as of a Heroine. In the Year 1640, she discharg'd General *Melander* from her Service, who was too importunate, and became suspected. He afterwards went into the Emperor's Service, and was made General in 1647; notwithstanding that he profess'd the Protestant Religion. His Death (c), which was the following Year, delivered *Hesse* from his cruel Enemy. I shall not, in this Abridgment, relate the Particulars of the Wars which the Princess Regent, by the Help of her Allies, sustain'd against the *Imperialists* (d) until the Treaty of *Westphalia*, which reconcil'd all Parties; but I shall proceed to the Treaty it self.

The Treaty was on Foot from the Year 1644, and the Preliminary had been concluded at *Hambourg* in the Year 1641. It was not sign'd till the 24th, according to some, and the 28th of October 1648, according to others, at *Osnabrug*, between the Emperor and *Sweden*; and the same Day at *Munster*, between the Emperor and the most Christian King; for the Plenipotentiaries were assembled

The Negotiation and Conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia.

(a) He dy'd in *Holland* of a Pestilential Fever.

(b) *Amelia of Hanau*.

(c) He was killed in the Battle that was fought near *Augsburg*, on the 17th of May.

(d) See *Puffendorff's History of Sweden*.

From 1640, bled in both Towns (a), and the Treaty bears 1640, the Name of both as well as of Westphalia, in which both the Towns are situated. The Honour of the Treaty is ascribed to Fabio Chigi, the Apostolick Nuncio, who was afterwards Pope, under the Name of Alexander the Eighth, and Correrani, the Venetian Ambassador, Mediators between the Emperor and his Allies, of the one Part; and the Crowns of Sweden and France, with their Allies, on the other. I shall only relate the principal Articles: The Peace of the Empire was the End proposed, and to obtain that, Satisfaction was to be given to those Powers that had made War against it, and were in a Condition to take that Satisfaction themselves by their own Forces, whose Ravages and Violences Germany had but too long suffered. The Parties most inveterated were, the Kings of France and Sweden, and the Palatine Family, whom Ferdinand the 2d had stript of the Electorate. Means were found to satisfy all Parties, but the Roman Church paid dear for it.

What was yielded to Sweden by Treaty. The Archbischoprick or Dutchy of Bremen were given to Sweden, saving the Liberty and Rights of the Town; and the Bishoprick or Dutchy of Verden, erecting those Dominions into Fiefs of the Empire, with a deliberative Voice in the Diets. Wismar in Meckleburg, was likewise yielded to the Swedes; and the Isle of Rügen, with the upper Pomerania: The lower remaining in the Possession of the Elector of Brandenbourg; and to indemnifie him for the upper, to whom it likewise belong'd (b), they quitted to him

To the Elector of Brandenbourg.

(a) The Plenipotentiaries of the Catholick Princes at Munster, of the Protestants at Osnaburg.

(b) It sell to him by the Death of Baglitas, in the Year 1637. See Nani's History of Venice.

the Archbishopricks and Principalities of From
Halberstadt and *Magdebourg*, with the Bishop-
rick or Principality of *Minden*. The Dukes 1640,
of *Mecklebourg* were likewise indemnified at
the Church's Expence; *Wismar* was taken to
from them, to accommodate the *Swede*, and
they had given them in Exchange the Bishop-
ricks of *Swerin* and *Ratzenbourg*, with some 1649.
Commanderies of the Order of St. John of Je-
rusalem, which were in their Estates. And
to recompence the Houses of *Brunswick* and To the
Lunenbourg for their Coadjutories of *Magde-*
bourg, *Halberstadt*, *Bremen*, and *Ratzenbourg*, House of
they granted them an alternative Succession
with the Catholicks to the Bishoprick of *Osnabourg*, Brun-
with the Investiture of some Mo-
nasteries of considerable Revenue. The Peace
could not be made but on these Conditions,
which stript the *Roman Church* of Archbi-
shopricks, Bishopricks, and other Dominions
that were seculariz'd; and to the Alienation
of which, the *Roman Church* was obliged to
consent, or at least to dissemble its Uneasi-
ness.

We must not forget that the famous *Passau* The Treaty
Treaty was rewarded, and that in Executi-
on thereof it was ordered, that every thing of Passau
renewed.

that concerned the Possession of Ecclesiasti-
cal Estates or Affairs, either Ecclesiastical or
Civil, between Catholicks and Protestants,
should remain on the same footing that they
were in the Year 1624, and be adjusted in a
friendly Manner by the Parties concern'd.
The Crown of *Sweden* became Guarantee for
this Article, and the young King that is now
on the Throne, has not omitted to put in
Execution.

From
1640,

to

1649.

~~Cessions to
France.~~

To the
Landgrave
of Hesse
Cassel.

The Elec-
tor Palat-
ine resto-
red.

The Treaty did not cost the Emperor and the Empire less than it cost the Roman Church. The Sovereignty of the Three Bishopricks of *Mets*, *Soul*, and *Verdun*, were transferred to *France*, and all the Right and Property to the Town of *Brisac*, *Suntgau*, the upper and lower *Alsace*, and the important Town of *Philipsbourg*, with Power to keep a French Garrison there to protect it, but the Property remain'd to the Bishop of *Spires*.

The Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel* was not forgotten, to whom the Abby of *Horsefield* was assigned, with Four Bailliages, that were dismembered from the Bishoprick of *Minden*, besides Six Hundred Thousand Crowns, which they were obliged to pay him, on the Restitution of some Places that he had taken.

The greatest Difficulties were on the Account of the Elector Palatine, since the Time that *Ferdinand the 2d.* stript him of his Electorate, and invested the Elector of *Bavaria* therewith. The Kings of *England*, *James* and *Charles*, had made fruitless Solicitations, as well as vain Threats at the Court of *Vienna*, to oblige that Court to restore the Prince to his Electorate. *Ferdinand the 2d.*, and *Ferdinand the 3d.*, always eluded their Demands, and the Elector's Complaints were not hearkened to until the Conferences at *Osnabourg* and *Munster*: The Design being there to restore a general Peace in the Empire, they were not willing to leave this Leaven of War and Division behind. It was then agreed on, that the Elector of *Bavaria* should remain in Possession of the upper *Palatinate*, but that the lower should be restor'd to the *Palatine*, and an Eighth Electorate created in his Favour.

The

The Duke of *Lorrain* was the most unfortunate of all ; he was excluded out of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, and obliged to wait for that of the *Pyrenees*, at which Time he was released out of the Prisons of *Antwerp*, only to be stript soon after of his Estates by *France* (a).

To conclude, the Authority of Diets was restored, and the Princes of *Germany* had the Power preserv'd to them, of entering into Alliances with Foreign Princes for their own Defence, provided that it was not against the Emperor, nor the Empire. This was giving Bounds to the House of *Austria*, and restraining it from usurping arbitrary Power ; but as a judicious Author remarks, That in taking this Care of the Liberty of the Empire, they did it another very great Evil, by introducing Strangers into its Bosom, and putting them in Possession of its best Provinces.

France made her Advantage of the humbling of the House of *Austria*, and her Arms and Intrigues did not distress that Branch of it that reign'd in *Spain*, less than the other that was seated on the imperial Throne.

Catalonia revolted in 1640, and in 1641 gave it self to *France*, who accepted of the Donation, and sent the Marquis of *Breze*, as her Viceroy, who arrived in February 1642, at *Barcelona*, and there took Possession of his beautiful (b) Charge. To preserve *Catalonia*, it was necessary to be Masters of the *Rossillion* ; the Army of *France* therefore entered the Conquests

From
1640,
to
1649.

*The Duke
of Lorrain
can obtain
nothing.
The Au-
thority of
Diets re-
stored.*

*The Life
and Ma-
moirs of
Cardinal
Richelieu,
Nani Siri.*

*The His-
tory of Lewa-
is the 4th,
&c.*

*The Revols
of Catalo-
nia.*

*The French
Conquests
Roussillon.*

(a) By the Translation of 1662.

(b) The Mareschal *Hainencourt* was sent there, charg'd with the same Title, and that of Duke of *Lorrain*.

From *Roufflion* the same Year, and took *Celour*, (1) and afterwards *Perpignan* (2). The King and Cardinal Richelieu design'd to have been Personally in this Expedition, but their ill State of Health would not permit it.

1640.
~~~~~  
(1) On the  
10th of  
April.

(2) On the  
7th of Sep-  
tember.

The Cardinal dy'd about the latter End of the Year, and the King did not long survive him. But before the Cardinal dy'd of a natural Death, he had like to have fallen by a Conspiracy laid against his Life and the Government, a little before the Taking of *Perpignan*. The Duke of *Orleans* was at the Head of the Conspirators, and it was he that discover'd the Plot. The Duke of *Bouillon* was likewise engag'd in it, and it cost him the Principality of *Sedan*; the Great Master of the Horse *D'Effiat*, was the chief Manager of the Intrigue, and he reveal'd the Secret to *Francis de Thou*, his intimate Friend, who was guilty of no Crime, but the Concealing of it; nevertheless he was condemn'd in the same Sentence with *D'Effiat*, and both were Beheaded.

*The Punish-  
ment of the  
Accomplices*

*1642.*  
~~~~~

*The Cardi-
nal's Sick-
ness and
Death.*

Alors

et

depu

de

sante Magnificence, and if he liv'd rather like a King than a Minister of State, one would think, in Reading of his last Will, after his Death, that it was rather the Testament of a King, than of a private Person. Neither shall I say any thing of his sumptuous Funeral; but I don't know what Judgment is to be made on the Report of the Anatomy of his Brain, where it is said, that the Organs which serve the Understanding, as some will have it, were double; others say triple, and to this it is, that the extraordinary Vivacity of his Wit, and force of his Judgment, were attributed. He recommended Cardinal *Mazarine* to the King, who, in the beginning of the Year, receiv'd the Cardinal's Hat from the King's own Hands, which the Pope had sent him; and this Minister was not less Powerful under the Minority of *Louis the XIVth*, than *Richelieu*, under the Reign of *Louis the XIIIth*.

From
1640,
to
1649.

*What is
Reported
about his
Brain.*

*He recom-
mends Ma-
zarine.*

Thus Liv'd, and thus Dy'd this extraordinary Man, the Favourite of his King, who lov'd him tenderly, during the first Years of his Ministry, his Equal, rather than his Minister, and at last, treating him on the Foot of an Equal, being then more fear'd than belov'd; but making himself always necessary, and as it were, linking the Destiny of the Monarch and Monarchy to his own. His Designs were always Great, and as he laid them them with a superiority of Genius and Greatness of Soul, that was above thinking on any thing that was low or indifferent; He executed them with a Constancy and Capacity, that made him Triumphant over the Enemies of the State, and his own; and every thing, even Fortune, either applauded or respected him. France, under his Shadow, saw her Arms and Sciences equally flourish under his Ministry.

*Cardinal
Richelieu's
Genius and
Fortune.*

*Arms and
Sciences
flourish un-
der his
Ministry.*

From equally Flourishing, and he was a second *Me-*
1640, canas, that made the Age of an *Augustus* to
to
1649. *shine in that Country.* Never did she see ap-
*~~~~~*pear at the same time, such a Crowd of Cap-
tains, and such a Crowd of Men of the most
polite Literature. I place at the Head of the

(1) Both
made Mar-
shals of
France in
1643. *first, the Gassons and Turennes ; (1) and at the*
Head of the latter, Vauglas, Ablancourt, Bal-
sac, Voiture, Sarasin, and Corneille. It is to them
that the French Prose and Poetry owe that
Beauty, which the French could never come
up to from the Time of Francis the first, and
was not perfected till Lewis the XIVth's Reign.
Both Sexes contributed towards it, and France
can boast of her Corneils and Sapbo's. It is to
Lewis the XIVth, that the French Academy
have presented their Dictionary ; but that A-
cademy is indebted for its Establishment, to
Cardinal Richelieu, and consequently, it is to
him, that France owes the Polishing of her
Tongue, as well as the Extending of her Mo-
narchy.

(2) *The*
Count of
Soissons,
Duke of
Weymar,
Duke of
Rohan.
See Puffen-
dorff's Hi-
Story of
Sweden. *The Glory of this Minister, was not*
without its Alloy ; too Vain, too Cholerick,
and too Revengeful ; not always making use
of lawful Ways to destroy the greatest Prin-
cées (2) ; and by these odious Faults, he lost
the Love which his great Qualities must cer-
tainly have acquir'd him ; and to this Day, his
Government is more admir'd, than belov'd
and esteem'd.

What Sen-
timents we
are to have
of Father
Joseph. I have said nothing of the Famous Father
Joseph, a Capuchin, entirely devoted to the Car-
dinal, and blindly putting the most unjust Or-
ders in Execution. Whatever Historians say
of this Fryar, he was nothing more than a vile
Instrument that the Cardinal made use of. It
was he that first open'd Affairs, but the Car-
dinal finish'd all himself.

The

The Cardinal's Death depriv'd the weak From
and diffident King, of an able Minister, whom 1640,
he could not well be without ; but nevertheless, to
he was as troublesome as useful, and his
superior Genius, made him appear as formida- 1649.
ble as necessary. The King did not survive him
long enough, to let us see how he would have
steer'd without this Pilot; and his Death, which
happen'd on the 14th of May, 1643, put France
into the Hands of another, who, with less
Greatness, was not inferior in Fortune and
Success to Richelieu.

*The Death
of Lewis
the 13th.*

This was *Mazarin*, whom *Ann of Austria*, *The Rise of*
being declar'd Regent, put at the Head of Af- *Cardinal*
fairs ; not so much on the Consideration *Mazarin*.
of his being recommended by the late King, as
on the need she had of this cunning *Italian*, to
maintain her self in the Regency. What he *His Qua-*
wanted in the Greatness of Heart, and the *lities*,
Wit of *Richelieu*, he supply'd with the Dissi-
mulation of his own ; the Man in the World
the most conceal'd, but at the same time, the
greatest Cheat ; and if we may credit the Pi-
cture that we have given of him by Histori-
ans, (3) he was not to be fathom'd, even by those
to whom he open'd himself the most ; and even (3) Siri,
they could scarce discover his true Sentiments, Wiquefort
promising every thing, and performing nothing,
and valuing himself on not being a Slave to his
Word ; Pliant, and not less fortunate in ap-
peasing Storms, by giving way to them, than
his Predecessor *Richelieu* was in Dissipating them
by his haughty Courage, which spar'd no
body.

It is not then to be wonder'd at, if with
such Qualities, being a Stranger, and what is
more, a Churchman, he was not more belov'd,
and more slighted than *Richelieu* : But what is

From 1640, astonishing is, that notwithstanding this hatred and slight, he was not less Absolute, and to 1649. amass'd more Riches. If his Predecessor Govern'd France gloriously under a weak Master, he left a young one on the Throne, who knew how to Reign alone, without having need of a first Minister and Favourites.

The Battle of Rocroy. The beginning of his Reign, was famous for the Battle of *Rocroy*, which was fought in *May*, 1643, where the young Duke of *Enghuien* signaliz'd that Heroick Valour, which was afterwards so glorious to *France*, and prov'd at last so fatal to himself. The next Year he gain'd new Victories in *Alsace*, took *Philipsbourg*, and in 1645, won the famous Battle of *Nordlinguen*, seconded by the *Swedes*, commanded by Count *Coningsmark*.

My Design is not to relate here, the Success of the French Arms in *Flanders*, in 1645, where they took *Bourbourg*, *Lens*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant*, *Armentiers*, *Menin*, *Mardyke*, and other Places; (4) and where, in the Year 1646, the Duke *Enghuien* took *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, after having beaten the Marquis of *Caracena*; nor what was done the same Year in *Italy*, where the French took *Piombino*, and *Portolongone*, and beat the Spaniards at the Passage of *Mora*. Nor shall I make any mention of their Exploits in gain'd by *Catalonia*, in the Year 1647, when, under the command of Mareschal *Schonberg*, they made themselves Masters of *Tortosa*; nor what they did the same Year in *Flanders*, under the brave Mareschal *Gassion*, who was inferior to the Duke of *Enghuien* in nothing but Birth. He lost his Life the latter end of this Campaign, at the Siege of *Lens* (5); and *France*, who began to be apprehensive of the Merit of this great Captain, and to suspect him to hold Cor-

(4) *The Archduke retook the most of them in 1647.*

Victories gain'd by the Duke of Enghuien and Marshal Schonberg.

(5) *The Archduke took it the same Year from the French.*

Correspondence with England and Holland, because of his Religion, rejoic'd more, says an Author, (6) than regretted his Death.

The Duke of Enghuijen, or Prince of Conde, as they began to call him after the Death of his Father, took this Year (7) the Command of the Army in Catalonia, and miscarry'd at the Siege of Lerida, being oblig'd to raise it.

He was more fortunate in the Year 1648, in Flanders, where he took Ipres, gain'd a Victory over the Arch-Duke, cut his Horse to pieces, having charg'd them Sword in Hand, at the Head of his own, forc'd the Arch-Duke to fly, with Count Fuenfaldagne, and took the famous General Beck Prisoner, who dy'd some few Days after of his Wounds.

I will not here repeat what I have said of the Treaties of Osnabrug and Munster, wherein France had so great a Part; but shall content my self with what I have said already, in the Article of the Emperor and Empire, who were more interested in that Treaty than France.

The Year 1648 ended with the famous Barricades of Paris, occasion'd by the Imprisonment of Bresil and Blanmesuil, two Councillors of Parliament, whom the Regent and the Cardinal had caus'd to be seiz'd on. The Court accus'd them of Fomenting the League of the Parliaments of the Kingdom, and of the Mutiny of the Parisians, who had made an Insurrection on the Account of the Imposts, the blame of which was laid to Mazarin's Charge. Thus, not only Paris, but the whole Kingdom, was divided into two Factions, call'd *Frondeurs*, and *Mazarin's*. The two Councillors, that styl'd the Imposts Oppression, encourag'd the Parliament, not to suffer those Imposts to be rais'd; and the People being highly pleas'd to

From,
1640,
to

(6) Siri.
(7) 1647 f
*Exploits o
the Prince
of Conde.
The Siege
of Lerida
rais'd.*

*He takes
Ipres, and
beats the
Archduke.*

From 1640, find such Defenders of Liberty, styl'd them to 1649. no otherwise than the *Fathers of their Country*. Their Imprisonment enrag'd the People, and thereupon they made Barricades in the Streets, cross'd them with Chains, took up Arms, and the Tumult was so great, that it could not be appeased, but by the Release of the two Prisoners : The Joy of the *Parisians* was so great at the Sight of *Broussel*, that he was saluted by all the Musquetry, (for all the Citizens were in Arms,) and accompanied with the Shouts of

(1) *The Place where she Parlia- ment meet.* the People to the Palace (1); from thence he was carry'd Home, as it were in Triumph. The Queen left *Paris*, and retir'd to *St. Germaine*, and the Cardinal design'd to have retir'd out of *France* to *Venice*; but his Fortune warded off the Storm. However, he suffer'd all the Noise and Alarm of it, being pursued by the Populace, who would have torn him to pieces; and proscrib'd by the Parliament, who set a Price on his Head. But this Commotion did not last long, the Queen, with the Cardinal, who brought the young King with him, left *Paris* on the 4th of *January*, and on the 6th, an Accommodation was agreed on, and an Amnesty publish'd; but these Troubles soon broke out again, and a Civil War rekindled throughout the Kingdom.

Mazarin's Flight.

Spain could not reap any Advantage from these Troubles, sooner than the Year 1652, by which Time, she reconquer'd her best Town in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and *Catalonia*. Let us now look into the Events of that Monarchy, from the Year 1640, where we broke off our Narrative, to the Year 1649.

Philip the 4th, his Sonness. Philip the IVth, who, perhaps, might have reduc'd *Catalonia* again to Obedience, if he had taken the Field in 1641, did not take it till

till 1642, amused by his Favourite, the Count Duke *D'Olivares*, who fear'd to expose the King, or to expose himself. For he did not shew himself on the Frontiers of *Arragon*, till about the Month of *July*, and then with a Train, less suited for War, than Pleasure and *His Softness*; bringing with him more Comedians to divert him, than Officers to give him good Council. Therefore it was, that this vain Expedition was without Fruit, and did not prevent the French from taking *Perpignan*. This ill Success, follow'd by many others, caus'd Olivares's Disgrace; but the Affairs of the Monarchy did not go on any better, and excepting *Lerida*, which Philip retook in 1644, he made no Expeditions, but shut himself up in *Madrid*, whither he was recall'd by the mortal Sickness of *Elizabeth of France*, his Wife, to whom He was wanting, both in Affection and Fidelity; whilst she, on her side, dissembled and suffer'd Injuries, with a great deal of Patience and Virtue.

From 1640, to 1649.

The Death and Elegy of the Queen of Spain:

It was at his departure for the Expedition to Catalonia, that Philip the IVth, own'd Don John of Austria for his natural Son; who afterwards made him himself known to the World by his Valour, to be worthy of his Birth and Name, which the Base Son of Charles the Vth had already made so Illustrions.

The Portuguese, who had thrown off the Spanish Yoke in the Year 1640, and reinstated the Braganza Family on the Throne, fix'd it firm thereon, in the Year 1642, by Reconquering all the Estates belonging to that Crown, in Asia, Africk, and the new World; and if Philip sometimes ballanced Victories in Flanders and Italy, with France, he was extremely mortify'd in the Year 1647, at the Rebellion

From 1640, of the Neopolitans. Thus that Prince, whom History reports to have been Wise, and Just, and not to have wanted Courage, was almost always betray'd by Fortune, by his Favourite, by his own Subjects, and saw three Kingdoms slip from Him, *Portugal* for ever ; *Naples*, which was not recover'd without Difficulty; and *Catalonia*, (a) which was not restor'd to Him but on his abandoning the *Roussillon* (b).

The Revolt of Naples. A Wretch, a Fisherman of *Amalfi*, one *Mas-anellio*, (1) made himself the Head of the Revolt of *Naples*, occasion'd by a Peasant's overturning a Basket of Figs, which he had brought from *Pozzuolo*, and refus'd to pay the Tax, which was newly Establish'd to the former. This was on the 7th of July, in 1647, all the People rose, and *Naples* saw this unworthy Leader at the Head of Fifty Thousand seditious Persons, running through the Streets, crying out *Liberty*, and overthrowing the Offices of the Farmers. The Viceroy wanting Troops, Courage, and Council, had no other way to lay the Storm, but by granting the People all that they demanded; that is to say, their antient Privileges, and the Abolition of the Taxes : The Treaty did not put an end to the Violences of the extravagant General; but his Cruelties having exasperated every body against him, he was kill'd in the *Carmelite* Convent by Persons suborn'd, without any body being able to say by whom; and then they thought the Seeds of Rebellion extinguish'd.

The Chief of the Revolters again.

Gennaro Annesa, Chief of a second Revolt.

But they soon sprung up again, under a Leader not more worthy than the first; his Name was *Gennaro Annesa*; and though of no Family, yet gave himself the Aires of a Sovereign.

(a) *Catalonia* is only a Principality.

(b) By the *Pyrenian Treaty*.

reign. What made this Revolt more Dangerous than the first was, that this was supported by France, who sent even an Ambassador there, and the Duke of Guise came thither likewise in Person, in order to put himself at the Head of this new Insurrection, a Leader of greater Credit than Genaro; but it was this that spoil'd all. For not only the Neopolitans were Jealous of the Duke, but even France suspected him of a Design to seize on the Royalty, and would not suffer it. And the Neopolitan Nobility, being uneasy at seeing him too Popular, rather chose to return to the Obedience of their antient Masters, than to come under his. So that on the 6th of April, 1648, all was pacify'd, and the Duke of Guise sent Prisoner into Spain. In the sequel of the Affairs of Holland, we shall see the Peace concluded the same Year, between that Crown and the Republick.

It seems as if the States began to be weary of the War, either from their Moderation, as Aitzema being satisfied with what they possess'd; or else through Policy, fearing, that by their assisting to lower the Spanish Monarchy, the French might rise in Proportion. Or lastly, as some would have it, that their Captain General was better enclin'd to Spain, being persuaded therunto by his Wife, (1) by whom he suffer'd himself to be too much govern'd in the latter Part of his Life. Nevertheless he took Genep (2), in the middle of July 1641, Sas van Ghent in 1644, and Hulst, by which he became Master of the Country of Waes, in 1645. The Taking of this Place, facilitated likewise the Siege of Antwerp; and it is said, that Cardinal Mazarin had dispos'd him to undertake it, but that the Province of Holland caus'd the Design to prove abortive, either out of fear, that the

From
1640,
to
1649.

*Jealous of
the Duke
of Guise.*

*The Duke
of Guise
taken Pri-
soner.*

Nani, Siri.

Aitzema.

The Life of

Frederick

Henry,

Prince of

Orange.

*The His-
tory of the*

Republick!

*of the uni-
ted Pro-
vinces.*

(1) Emilia

de Solins.

(2) In the

Country of

Cleves.

Exploits of

Prince

Henry of

Orange.

From 1640, Trade of that Town would ruine the Trade of Amsterdam; or else out of Jealousie of the Engagements between the Prince and the Cardinal, according to others. This Siege was again design'd in 1646, and the Project miscarried a second Time. It is said, (1) that the Prince's Indisposition, and the Intrigues of his Wife, who was more a Spaniard than a French Woman, were the Cause; and they add further, that the Prince's Indisposition, did not only weaken his Body, but his Understanding; so that there remain'd no more than the Phantom of the Hero, whom the Republick had formerly equally admitt'd, in the Assembly of their States, and at the Head of their Armies.

His Death. He Dy'd the 14th of March 1647, in perpetual Deliriums, as the same Authors say (2); but with great Presence of Mind, and like a Christian Hero, as others alledge. His Death being extremely regretted, and his Memory held contrary in extraordinary Veneration, being equally dear to the Soldiers, who styl'd him their Father; and to the Republick, who always were attentive to him, as to an Oracle. William, the second of that Name, was his Successor to his Estates and Offices; this Prince was Married to the Princess of England: He had likewise several Daughters, the Eldest of which, married the Elector of Brandenbourg, and from this Marriage the King of Prussia is descended.

Treaty of Peace between Holland and Spain. The Peace between the Republick and Spain, immediately follow'd the Prince's Death. It look'd as if both Parties believ'd that they wanted Peace, since it was negotiated at the Congress held at Munster, to treat of a General Peace; and that the Deputies of these Two Powers, treated of theirs particularly,

and

and Sign'd the Articles on the 30th of January From
 1648, without waiting for the Conclusion of 1640,
 the General Peace, the Treaties of which to
 were not Sign'd till the October following. 1649.
 France endeavour'd all she could, to cross this
 particular Treaty, and made such great Offers
 to the Republick, that the young Prince of
Orange strenuously back'd it ; but his Solicita-
 tions only hasten'd the Treaty; the Republick,
 that was fearful of the Ambition of France,
 began likewise to be apprehensive of the young
 Prince's Ambition ; and therefore would not,
 by continuing the War, put the Forces of the
 States into his Hands. They therefore rather
 chose to make their Treaty with Philip the
 IVth, who gave them a *Carte Blanche*. And
 now they thought of nothing, but making the
 united Provinces a Rampart to the Spanish
 Netherlands, to secure them from the Invasi-
 on of France. Philip acknowledg'd the Sov-
 ereignty of the Republick, and she remain'd in
 full Possession of her entire Independance, and
 all her Dominions. After this manner, ended
 this long and terrible War, which had
 lasted almost a Century : And thus for ever was
 settled the Empire of those happy Provinces,
 who took up Arms at first, only in Defence of
 their Liberties, and did not lay them down,
 until they had Establish'd these Liberties on so-
 lid Foundations.

Nothing considerable pass'd in the Indies
 during this period of Years. But I ought not
 to forget the Discovery of Brower's Streights,
 so called, from a Dutch Captain, who dis-
 cover'd it in 1643, scituate above Magdelean
 Streight, and more commodious than the
 latter, for the Passage from the North to the
 South Sea.

Brower's
Streight
discover'd.

From 1649, I have related what happened in *Brazil*, from the Dutch Conquests there, in 1629, till the Year 1654, that they were dispossess'd by a Treaty, with their Commandant. It is therefore needless to repeat what **The Cession of Brasil.** I have already mentioned : I shall only add, that the Treaty was not ratified till the Year 1661, by the Treaty of Peace with the King of *Portugal*.

1648-9. Let us return to *England*, and there see the most terrible Spectacle that ever was : A King accused of Treason and Murder, brought before an incompetent Tribunal, unworthily treated there, and with as little Ceremony as if he had been of the Dregs of the People; and lastly, brought out on a Scaffold, there to have his Head cut off by the Hands of the common Executioner.

The King's first Appearance before the Commissioners at Westminster. It was, as I have said, on the 20th of January, that the King appeared for the first Time, before the Commissioners that were assembled to be his Judges. I shall not here relate their Names, they being to be found in the most Part of the Narratives of this tragical Event ; I shall content my self with saying, that *Bradshaw*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, but, as the (1) Historian says,

(1) *Lord Clarendon.* a very insolent Man, was the President ; and *Dorillas* and *Aiske* were his Assistants. *Coke* was

Cromwell of the Number. Sollicitor-General, and *Cromwell*, one of the Commissioners, is named immediately after the President (2). I shall say nothing of their

(2) *He is only nam'd the fifth in the Trial of the Regicides.* Herald, or Crier ; of their Clerk, of their Porters, and Officers. But I ought not to omit relating, that as they walk'd to take their Places, Colonel *Humphry* carried the Sword drawn before them ; and *Dandy*, the Serjeant at Arms, the Mace ; Twenty Gentlemen, with

Par-

Partisans in their Hands, commanded by Colonel Fox, were the President's Guards, and march'd by his Side. In this Manner the Commissioners repair'd, in the Morning, to Westminster Hall, at the upper End of which the Court was erected. Two Benches, covered with Scarlet, were ranged on the two Sides, and in the highest Place was set a great Chair, covered with Crimson Velvet, with a Desk before it, and Cushion of the same. Below him, was a Seat for the Clerk, who had before him, on the Table, two small Trunks, in which were all the Acts relating to the Trial ; and on the same Table, which was covered with a rich Piece of Turkish Tapistry, was laid the Sword and the Mace that I have spoken of.

Each having taken his Place, according to his Rank, Colonel Tomlinson, who guarded the King, had Orders to bring him. Then the King came, surrounded with Guards, not as a King, but as a Criminal ; and was conducted by the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, up to the Barr, where a Chair, covered with Crimson Velvet, was prepared for him. As soon as he was seated, the Clerk read the Act, by which the Commons had ordained, that they should proceed to his Trial. It was observed, that whilst the Act was reading, the Head of the King's Cane dropt off, and that no Body endeavouring to take it up, the King was obliged to stoop for it himself. The Act being read, Bradshaw addressed himself to him in these Terms : Charles Stewart, King of England, the Commons of the Realm being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, of which you are accused to be the Author, have constituted this

The King is brought.

A Chair for him.

this

Anno 1648-9.
*With wha
Pomp the
Commissio-
ners sat.*
*A Descrip-
tion of the
Court.*

Anno this high Court of Justice, in order to bring you
1648-9. to a Trial.

*The Heads
of the
Charge
read.*

Then he ordered the Clerk to read the Charge against him ; which imported : That in Violation of the Laws of England, of the Oath taken at his Coronation, to observe them, he had designed to bring in arbitrary Government, to destroy Parliaments, and to enslave the Nation ; that to that End, he had raised Armies, and made a continual War on his People, and particularly ever since the Year 1642, at which Time the Civil War was openly proclaim'd by him, and not discontinued since. Then the Detail was read of all the Battles, and the King was made accountable for the Blood, Burnings, Plunder, and all the Disorders that had been committed. They accus'd him likewise of designing to bring in Popery ; and lastly, they charg'd him indirectly with the Irish Massacre, by charging him with having given Commission to the Irish Papists, who had put that Massacre in Execution.

*The Sollicitor General's De-
mand.*

The Charge being read, Coke, the Sollicitor-General, addressing himself to the President, said, That he, in the Name of all the People of England, accused Charles Steuart, there present, of being a Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murderer, and a common Enemy of the Country, and the Common-Wealth ; demanded that he should answer to the Charge which he had heard read against him, and that after his Answer, the Court should proceed to Justice, and give Sentence.

*The Presi-
dent desires
that the
King may
answer.*

Then the President, addressing himself to the King, said, Sir, you have heard your Charge read ; the Court expects your Answer. Then the King, shewing his Resentment and Indignation, said, My ill Fortune has not made me forget my Rank and Dignity ; I am your King, and

and you have no Power over me ; Before I am Anno
sver, I would know by what Authority you are assembled here to try me. I do not mean such Authority as Thieves and Robbers on the High-Ways take to themselves, there are too many such unlawful Authorities in the World ; but I would know by what lawful Authority it is that you are assembled. I will not betray my Right ; remember what be that my Trust is committed to me by God, and till demands. you let me see by what Laws your Court is set up, I shall always protest against your Authority, and will not own you for my judges.

It is easie to satisfie you, Sir, answered the President, The same Authority that made you King, has made us sit in this Court ; the People of England, who elected you their King, have swer. appointed us to be your Judges.

You are mistaken, Mr. President, said the King, you are but ill acquainted with the Rights of the Kings of England to the Crown. They hold it from God and their Predecessors, as a hereditary Kingdom, and not an elective one, and such it has been for Time immemorial, which I could easily prove from the Practice of above a Thousand Years ; but once more let me know on what Authority it is that you found your pretended Rite.

A great many more Questions and Answers pass'd thereupon, on both Sides, but neither would give way. If the King had the Right on his Side, the Authority was in his Judges Hands ; this was what the President made him to understand, when he told him, that he must think of giving a precise Answer to the Charge, at the next sitting of the Court ; and then ordered the Prisoner to be carried back.

On the 22d of January, the Court assem-
bled again in the painted Chamber, where ^{The second} fitting.
they

Anno 1648-9. they resolved to condemn the King for Con-

temptacy, in case that he persisted to deny the

Court's Authority, and refused to answer to his Charge: From thence they went to their Court in the Hall, and the King was a second Time brought before them.

*The Presi-
dent's
Speech.*

The President told him, that the Court were dissatisfied to see him obstinate in contesting their lawful Authority, instead of making his Defence: That it was in vain for him to think to evade Justice; and that he desired to know, whether he own'd or deny'd the Charge which he had heard read against him. Then the Dispute began again, and was much the same as before. The King desired to know who it was that had given the Commissioners the Authority to try him; the President made answer, That it was the People of England, assembled in Parliament, in the House of Commons. The King reply'd, that it did not belong to the Commons to confer such a Power, and that the Legislative Power was not in their Hands. Then the Clerk, on a Sign given him by the President, read the Ordinance which they had made in the painted Chamber, in these Terms: Charles Sten-

*The Ordin-
nance
made in
the paint-
ed Cham-
ber rea*

art, King of England, you are accused in the Behalf of the People of England, of divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court requires you to give a positive Answer, to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to answer the same.

*The King
still de-
clines the
Jurisdicti-
on of the
Court.*

The King's Answer still turned on the Incompetency of the Judges; which being taken for a Refusal to answer, the President declared, that the Court would record the Default; and then order'd him to be carried back to St. James's.

The

The next Day, being the 23d of January, Anno
was spent in the like Contests. Let us ex- 1648-9.
plain our Rights, said the King, I am your King, ~~and my~~
and my Dignity authorizes my disputing your Au- The third
thority; but who are you, that take on you to be sitting.
your Sovereign's Judges? Sir, I have already ~~told~~ ^{The King}
told you more than once, answered the President, ~~the Author~~
and I repeat it again; but take care, for this is ~~right~~ of each
the last Time; this Court holds its Authority from ~~should be~~
the Commons of England, from whom you hold ^{explain'd.}
your Crown, and look on your refusing to answer ^{The Presi}
the Charge brought against you, by their Sollici- ^{dent's An}
tor, in the Name of all the People of England,
as a Contumacy.

Then the Clerk, by the President's Order, ^{The second}
read the Ordinance which was made in the ^{reading of}
painted Chamber; and the King having heard ^{the Ordin}
it, I have done nothing, said he, contrary to the nance.
Laws, and the Crimes that I am accused of, are ^{The King}
meer Calumnies; but I persist in my Protest of the persists in
Nullity and Incompetency of a Court unlawful as ^{the Nulli}
yours is. ^{ty of the}
^{Tribunal.}

Your Actions, Sir, answered the President, Default re-
answer but ill to your Words; they are written in corded a se-
bloody Characters, in the three Kingdoms. This cond time.
is the third Time that you have refused to an-
swer, therefore the Court records the Default.
Guards, continued he, take back the Prisoner.

The Commissioners were three whole Days without meeting again, either because that there was some Repugnance in some of them, ^{The Fourth} ~~sitting.~~
nly Lord Gray, and Lord Mounson, Temple, Northon, Danvers, and Eight others, (as it is ^{Eight of} said) having absented themselves: Or else, ^{the Judges} because that so much Time was necessary, to withdraw concert their Measures so well, that nothing ^{them-} should be able to ward the Blow which they ^{selves.}
were going to strike.

On

Anno 1648-9. On the 27th of January, they sat again, being only Sixty Seven in Number, to which they were reduced by the Desertion of some of their Members. The King was brought before them, for the fourth and last Time.

(1) Some Authors say, that all the Judges were in red Robes. They must hear the King.

The Presi-
dent's
Speech.

The President was that Day in a red Robe (1), and the King saw by that, that they were going to pronounce Sentence of Death against him. He fretted, and demanded, that he might be permitted to speak : Sir, said the President, it is now too late, the Court are resolved to pronounce Sentence : but nevertheless, if you have any thing to say in your Defence, you shall be heard : But first you must hear what the Court has to say to you by me : This is the fourth Time that they have assembled, the three first Times were taken up in exposing to you the black Crimes you stand accused of by the People of England. The Court have required you to answer to the Charge ; but instead of that, you have been obstinate, in contesting their Power, and declining the Authority of the Court. They have represented to you their lawful and sovereign Right, which you have endeavoured to evade ; and by your Refusal to give a precise Answer, you have incurred the Penalty of Contumacy, and that obliges them to pronounce Sentence. Thrice you have been desired to answer, and thrice you have trampled on the Authority of the Court, declined the Jurisdiction, and refused to answer to your Charge : From hence the Contumacy arises. Besides, the Charge against you are publickly-notorious Crimes ; and nothing now remains but to pronounce Sentence ; but nevertheless, the Court will not refuse to hear you, and will suspend their Judgment till they have hear'd what you have to say in your Defence. I only advise you not to continue to dispute the Power and Jurisdiction of the Court ; for,

for if you should, they will not admit of any such Anno
Debate.

1648-9,

The King then spoke: Since, said he, you ~~would~~^{want} take it so ill that I should contest your Authority, I will insist no longer on it; but allow me that Answer, I may be heard, before you pass Sentence, by the Demand of Lords and Commons, to be assembled for that being heard Purpose in the painted Chamber. This can be before the no long Delay, and cannot be prejudicial: But Lords have a care, and don't precipitate a Sentence, which, when too late, you may repent of.

Bradshaw answered, That what the King said, was only a new Means of evading the Jurisdiction of the Court, and declining of its Authority; Refused; but that however they would debate on it. Then he rose up, and was followed by the rest of the Commissioners into the Court of Wards, where they remained scarce half an Hour, and then return'd. When they were seated, the President told the King, That they had debated on his Proposal, only for Form Sake, and that it was unanimously rejected, and the Court ordered Sentence to be immediately pronounced.

The King again attempted to have Permission granted him to be heard before the two Houses assembled together, and speaking with more Firmness than before, It is not, said he, the Fear of Death that obliges me to make this ^{The reasong} Demand, but the Safety of my People, and the ^{able Wordg} Peace of my Kingdoms; do you, if it is possible, ^{of the} King, have the same Consideration, and do not hasten a Sentence, which may occasion such Ills, that Children, yet unborn, may feel the Effects of it.

However, this was, it made no Alteration in the Commissioners Resolutions; ^{No Regard} had ^{them} and after that the President had asked the King if he had any thing more to say, and

Anno the King answered, No. Hear me then, add-
 1648-9. ed the President, and be touched with the Hor-
 rор of your Crimes, and convinced of the Justice
 of your Sentence. Then he went on to explain
 the Rights of the King, and the Rights of
 the People, and pretended that Tyranny de-
 stroyed the former, and quoted the Exam-
 ples of several Kings that were either depo-
 sed or put to Death, for their Cruelties and
 Injustice. From thence he proceeded to re-
 present those Cruelties, which he pretended
 the King was convicted of, and gave a par-
 ticular Relation of them. He concluded his
 Speech with saying, That the Court had ad-
 judg'd him a Traitor, a Tyrant, a Murde-
 rer, and a publick Enemy to the Country,
 and ordered the Clerk to read the Sentence,
 which was immediately done in these Terms.

The Sentence, a terrible one.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament,
 have appointed them an High Court of Justice,
 for the Trying of Charles Stewart, King of En-
 gland, before whom he hath been three Times con-
 vened, and refused to answer, each Time, to
 the Charge of his High Crimes and Treasons.
 For all which Treasons and Crimes, the Court,
 who have the Proofs against him in their Hands,
 and in Detestation of his Contumacy, doth ad-
 judge, that the said Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant,
 Traitor, Murderer, and Publick Enemy, should
 be put to Death, by severing his Head from his
 Body.

The King attempts to be heard.

It was impossible for the King not to be
 moved at the receiving such a terrible Sen-
 tence. Mr. President, said this unhappy
 Prince, pray let me speak, I am your King, will
 you refuse to hear me, and shall not I be suf-
 fered to plead my Cause? No, Sir, answered
 the President, the Time is past, Sentence is pro-
 nounced.

nounced. At the Speaking these Words, he Anno rose up, (after having order'd the Guards to 1648-9, carry the Prisoner to *White-Hall*), and was followed by all the Commissioners, who, in four Sittings, finish'd the greatest Tryal that perhaps ever was in the World, and took up less Time in Condemning a Great King, than is usually taken up in the Condemning of a common Robber.

The Speech which the King design'd to have made, but was not suffer'd to speak in *Westminster-Hall*, was found amongst his Papers The King's Reasons in Writing, Published afterward by the Historians. after his Death, and the Historians have publish'd it. It may be reduc'd to Three principal Heads: The First, concerning the Sovereignty of Kings, who, he said, were accountable to none but to God for their Actions. The Second, invalidated the pretended Court at *Westminster*. And the Third, was a Declaration of the Happiness that *England* had enjoy'd, under the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, and under his own, and a kind of Prediction of the Misfortunes that would happen to the Kingdom, if Monarchy, its antient and natural Government, was destroy'd. As to the first Head, He alledg'd, that both Humane and Divine Laws had so ordain'd it; and drew his first Argument from these Words in Holy Scripture: (1) *Where the Word of a King is, there is Power: and who may say unto Him, What dost Thou?* The second was founded on a Maxim of the Law, which says: *That the King can do no wrong.* As to the Invalidity of the Court, He endeavour'd to proye it so from this Reason, that the Commons, from whom they boasted to have receiv'd their Authority, had not that Authority in themselves, separate from the

Anno 1648-9. Lords and King, who all together compos'd the Parliament ; and in them jointly, the Legislative Power was lodg'd: To which he added, that the House, which continued to call themselves a House of Commons, was entirely defective, most of the Members being withdrawn, so that scarce a tenth Part remain'd in the House; and from thence He inferr'd, that if it could not erect a Sovereign Court of Justice when it was compleat, it could much less do it mutilated and defective, as the House then was. As to the third Head, concerning the Happiness of the Nation under Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Himself, He begg'd all his Subjects to recollect the Remembrance of them, and to reflect, that the Happiness of the People was so strongly ty'd to the Monarchical Government, that the latter could not be oppress'd, without destroying the other. A terrible Revolution, (said He) to which England ought to be very attentive, if she would avoid falling into an Abyss of inevitable Misfortunes. He likewise defended himself, but in two Words only, against the Crimes laid to his Charge, of Arbitrary Government, the which, He was so far from designing, that He was persuaded, that neither King nor People could be happy without the due Observation of the Laws ; but He added, that it was the King's Busines, to cause the Observation of them, and the Peoples to live quietly under their Protection. That He did not believe, that He had been wanting in his Duty on that Point, and that if the Apple of Discord had been thrown in between Him and his Parliament, that fatal Division was on the Point of being clos'd, by the Treaty at New-port ; from whence He was brought by force,

con-

contrary to all Right; nor could he learn, by ^{# Anno} 1648-9 whose Order ; that they had kept Him Prisoner ever since, and by that means prevented [~] Him from perfecting the important Work of Reconciliation and Peace, between Him and his Kingdom.

The unfortunate King was brought on the 27th of January, as I have said, from Westmin-^{They bring} ster-Hall, to his Palace at White-Hall, where, ^{Him to} the next Day being Sunday, He heard Doctor White-^{White-} Fuxon Preach, and receiv'd his spiritual Con-^{Hall.} solations. On Monday He was brought from ^{And from} White-Hall, back to St. James's, where He was thence permitted to see, for the last Time, the Duke ^{St. James's,} of Gloucester, his third Son, and the Princess Henrietta, his second Daughter. He conceal'd ^{An Inter- view with} his Children ^{his Chil- dren.} as much as He could, his Affliction, but He could not conceal his Tenderness, and there was something extremely moving in this Interview, and above all, in the melancholy Moment of Parting ; when the afflicted Father could not embrace his Children, who were all in Tears, without mixing his with theirs. In this last Interview, He oblig'd the young Prince, for whom the Nation had a particular Affection, again to promise Him, that he would not accept of the Crown, if it was offer'd him, in prejudice of his Elder Brother.

On Tuesday the 30th of January, He was ^{He is made -} brought from St. James's to White-Hall, and acquainted Colonel Tomlinson, who had the Charge of ^{with the} bringing Him thither, told the King his Order, with a Sadness, that plainly betray'd the Cause of it. His Judges, or Parricides, found that the keeping of so important a Prisoner, was too dangerous, and therefore precipitated the Punishment, as much as they had done the Sentence. Every thing was ready for the Ex-

Anno execution, which was only delay'd from Saturday 1648-9. to Tuesday. They made choice of the great Street before his Palace at White-Hall, to do the Execution in; and from the Windows of the Palace, He could walk to the Scaffold, which was built just over against them.

*He receives
the Sacra-
ment.* Before He left St. James's, He desir'd to receive the Sacrament; and after having communicated, and thereby prepar'd himself to die, He left his Palace at St. James's, and was conducted about Ten a Clock in the Morning to White-Hall, which is only separated by the Park from St. James's, which He cross'd on Foot, between a double Stay of Soldiers, accompanied by the Bishop of London, and one Valet de Chamber only.

*His March
to the
Scaffold.* As soon as He arriv'd at White-Hall, He shut himself up in his Closet with the Bishop of London, and remain'd there with him till one a Clock, for to dispose himself for that terrible Moment of an unworthy Death, which He was going to suffer, and to meet it with a Constancy, worthy of a Christian King. He would neither Eat nor Drink that Day, and only employ'd the Time in holy Meditations, strengthening himself therein,

*His Deyer-
tion.* by reading several Passages in Scripture, most suitable to his Condition, and by the Prayers of Bishop Juxon.

*His Con-
vage on the
Scaffold.* At last the fatal Hour being come, He came from one of the Windows of the Apartment to the Scaffold, which was cover'd with black Cloth. Two Men mask'd, (1) which He knew were the Executioners, were in a Corner, and the Ax fold'd up in a piece of Crape, was on the Block. This mournful Preparation did not at all surprise him; but being advanc'd to the Front of the Scaffold, He turn'd to Colonel Tomlinson, to whom He directed his Discourse.

After

(1) Halte and Brandon. See the Tryal of the Regicides.

After a short Preface, to shew the Motive Anno
that oblig'd Him to Speak, for fear, said He, least 1648-9.
his silence should be taken for avowing of the Crimes of which He was accus'd, He protested his Innocence, and call'd God to witness, before whom He was going to appear, and to give an Account of his Actions. His Speech, which by its Shortness and Constancy, was equally suited to a Great King, and to so fatal a Catastrophe, contained Six principal Things: First, He declar'd, That He acquitted the Parliament His Speech. of the Blame of the War, and of the Reproach of his Death, of which, He accused only those Seditious Persons who had caused the fatal Division which cost Him his Life, for whom, after the Example of St. Stephen, He pray'd God, that his Death might not be laid to their charge. Secondly, He said, that He thought the Death which He was to suffer, was a Punishment for his having consented to the Earl of Strafford's Death. Thirdly, He declared, that the surest Way to put an end to the Troubles about Religion, was to call a National Synod with the soonest conveniency, to regulate all Difficulties according to the Holy Scripture, and the Laws of the Land. Fourthly, He exhorted the People to own the Prince of Wales for his Successor, and to expiate their Revolt from the Father, by Installing the Son. Fifthly, He represented to the People, that their true Liberty did not consist in Governing, but in Living in Safety under the Authority of the Laws. Sixthly, Lastly, He concluded with protesting, that, far from Designing to oppress that valuable happy Liberty, He took up Arms only to oppose those that design'd to destroy it, by setting up a new Government; and that therefore He had Glory to die his Peoples Martyr.

Anno 1648-9. After the Speech was ended, the Bishop of London came up to Him, and told Him, that it was proper to say something of his Religion; the King thank'd him, and raising his Voice, Declar'd, That He dy'd a Christian, according to the Communion of the Church of England.

He takes off his Cloak, and unties his blue Ribbon. After having spoken in this manner, He quitted his Cloak, and with his own Hands untied his George set with Diamonds from the blue Ribbon, and deliver'd it to the Bishop of London, in order to send it to the Prince of Wales. The Prelate help'd him to take off his Doublet, and to put his Hair under his Cap, which they brought Him; and whilst these melancholy Things were transacting, the King continued fortifying himself by Prayers to Almighty God, with assurances of his Mercy.

He touches the Block and Ax, Lastly, Having no other Thoughts but on Death, He came up to the Block, and touch'd it, to try if it was fast. He likewise took care of the Ax; and having seen some Persons handle it, He bid them to take care of the Ax, and not to let it fall.

His Constancy. With this Constancy it was, that He look'd Death in the Face, and kneeling at the Block, He bid the Executioner to strike when He stretched out his Hands; then raising them towards Heaven, He made a short Prayer, and then stretch'd them out; at this Signal, one of the Executioners struck off his Head at a single Blow, and gave it to his Companion, who held it up, to shew it to the People that surrounded the Scaffold. Thus ended this terrible Scene, the Nobility keeping Silence, the People being Spectators, and the Army assisting at it, with as little Concern, as at the Execution of the vilest and most wicked of Men.

The

The Body was carry'd to St. James's Palace, And
and there exposed for a whole Day to the View 1548-91
of the People. The Duke of Richmond, the Mar- ^{He is expe-}
quiss of Hartfort, the Earls of Lindsey and South-
hampton, had leave given them, to pay Him ^{sed to View}
their last Duty; and having carry'd the Body to ^{a whole}
Windsor, they interr'd it in the Royal Chap- ^{Day at St.}
pel, near Henry the VIIIth, with this Inscripti-
on on the Coffin, *CHARLES THE FIRST, His Burial.*
King of England. This was all the Honour that
the Commons would allow the unhappy King; his ill Fortune too, would not suffer his Successor to give Him a more Honourable Burial, by transferring his Body from thence to West-
minster, to the Royal Chappel of Henry the VIIIth. This was what King Charles the II. design'd to have done, immediately after his Restoration; but the Alteration that had been made in the Church at Windsor, render'd it im-
possible to find out the Place where the Body
was laid.

I shall not relate here, the Reasons that his ^{remonstrance of}
Enemies assign for the Cause of his Punishment; ^{His Elegy.}
the Examples of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vitellius*, which they had the Impudence to compare the King's Death to, raise Horror; and if King *Charles* had Faults, He was far from having the Vices of those Monsters and Tyrants.

None dispute his Temperance. His Sweet-
ness and Affability are prais'd by all the World; and his Religion is branded with Hypocrisy by none, but those Authors, who are too partial, and too satirical to be credited. If He was too much enclin'd to Episcopacy, and had too great a Leaning to arbitrary Sway, it may be that the King is himself less to blame, than *Buckingham*, *Laud*, *Strafford*, and the Queen his Wife, who inculcated into Him the Maxims of ^{the}

Anno the Court where she was Born, but were too
 1648. to absolute to be digested in the Court she was
 ~~~~~ Married into. And Lastly, That Sweetness  
 which appears throughout all King Charles's  
 Actions, will not suffer us to suspect Him of  
 approving of the Irish Massacre, tho' indeed it  
 is difficult to find an Excuse for those Comis-  
 sions which He gave to some of the Massacres,  
 either by Surprise, or else through Ignorance  
 of their Conspiracy, and with design to make  
 use of them in the War against the Parlia-  
 ment. As to that War, it must be laid to his  
 Charge ; but then his Imprisonment expiated  
 the Fault, and the Treaty of Newport secured  
 the Privileges and Liberty of Parliament, at  
 the Expence of his own Authority. This Re-  
 paration was entirely made, if a Seditious Ar-  
 my had not interfer'd, and Erected an incon-  
 sistent Court to condemn Him, contray to  
 Law, with unexampled Fury and Precipitation.

To whom  
 the King's  
 Death is to  
 be imputed  
 (1) Sau-  
 maise.

To this Army, and to this unlawful Tribu-  
 nial, is the King's Death to be imputed, rather  
 than to the Presbyterians, or even the Indepen-  
 dentists, although a famous (1) Protestant Author,  
 a Defender of the unjustly condemn'd Mo-  
 narch, lays it to both their Charges : The First,  
 says he, prepared the Ax that cut the King's Head  
 off, and deliver'd the Victim bound, into the  
 Hands of the others, who cut his Throat.

A modern Author, tho' a strong Episcopalian, speaks otherwise of the Presbyterians. They (says he) seeing that the Proceedings went farther than they believ'd they would have done, Publish'd a printed Protest against that wicked Court. It was Sign'd by a great Number of their Ministers, in form of a Let-  
 ter to the General, and the Council of the  
 Army, with this Title : *A serious and faithful*  
 Repre-

*Representation of the Opinions of the Ministers of Anno  
the Gospel, of the Diocese of London, on the un- 1648-9.  
just Prosecution of the sacred Person of the King.*

But that Historian adds, that their Zeal, or <sup>See the</sup> Clergy's  
their Repentance, was vain, and they spake to Polity.  
Barbarians, that could not be mov'd. <sup>See like-</sup>

Whoever were his Executioners, Religion wise she  
had less share in the Parricide, than the Fury <sup>11th Tome</sup> of the Bib-  
of the Soldiery, and the Ambition of their Ge-  
neral; or, if any Religion interfer'd, it was <sup>liotheque</sup> Univers.  
rather the *Roman Catholick*, than any other; at pag. 475.  
least, if we may credit what was publish'd in <sup>and so on.</sup>  
1662, and the modern Author which I have <sup>And the</sup> already quoted, who relates very probable Cir-  
cumstances against the Papists, if they are not <sup>Extract of</sup> Wake's 3d  
entirely convincing ones. <sup>Tome.</sup>

But let us draw the Curtain over this bloody <sup>the Com-</sup>  
Catastrophe, which put all Europe into a Fer- <sup>pleat Hi-</sup>  
ment, and which *England* reproaches her self <sup>story of En-</sup>  
with to this Day, and was not expiated but by <sup>gland.</sup>  
her Repentance, and the Restoration.

King *Charles*, by Marriage with *Henrietta* <sup>Seelikewise</sup>  
*Maria* of France, left behind him, *Charles* the  
IId. who succeeded him; *James* Duke of York,  
who succeeded his Brother *Charles*; and *Henry*  
Duke of Gloucester, the Delight of the People,  
who were well acquainted with his steady ad-  
herence to the Protestant Religion, and whom  
the King, his Father, was afraid, would be  
chosen by the People, and his Elder Brothers  
excluded; but this young Prince promised Him,  
that he would refuse the Crown, if offer'd to  
him to his Brother's prejudice; and his  
Death, which happen'd in the Year of the  
Restoration, prevented the Peoples Love from  
creating Jealousies in the Royal Family. King  
*Charles* had likewise two Daughters, *Mary*,  
who was Married to *William* the IId. Prince  
of

Anno of Orange, Father of William the III<sup>d</sup>. King of Great Britain ; and Henrietta, who was Married in France to the Duke of Orleans.

Thus the Tragical End of *Charles the First*, did not leave the Throne always vacant, but his Posterity Re-ascended it gloriously, after an Inter-regnum, or Usurpation of Twelve Years. But before we see this happy Revolution, it would be necessary to look into that Government, and imaginary Republick that preceded it. The Head of which, under the specious Name of *Protector*, became the Master, and *perpetual Dictator*. But as this was at first design'd only for the History of the Reign of King *Charles the First*, the Translator thinks himself oblig'd to close with the Death of that unfortunate Monarch.

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